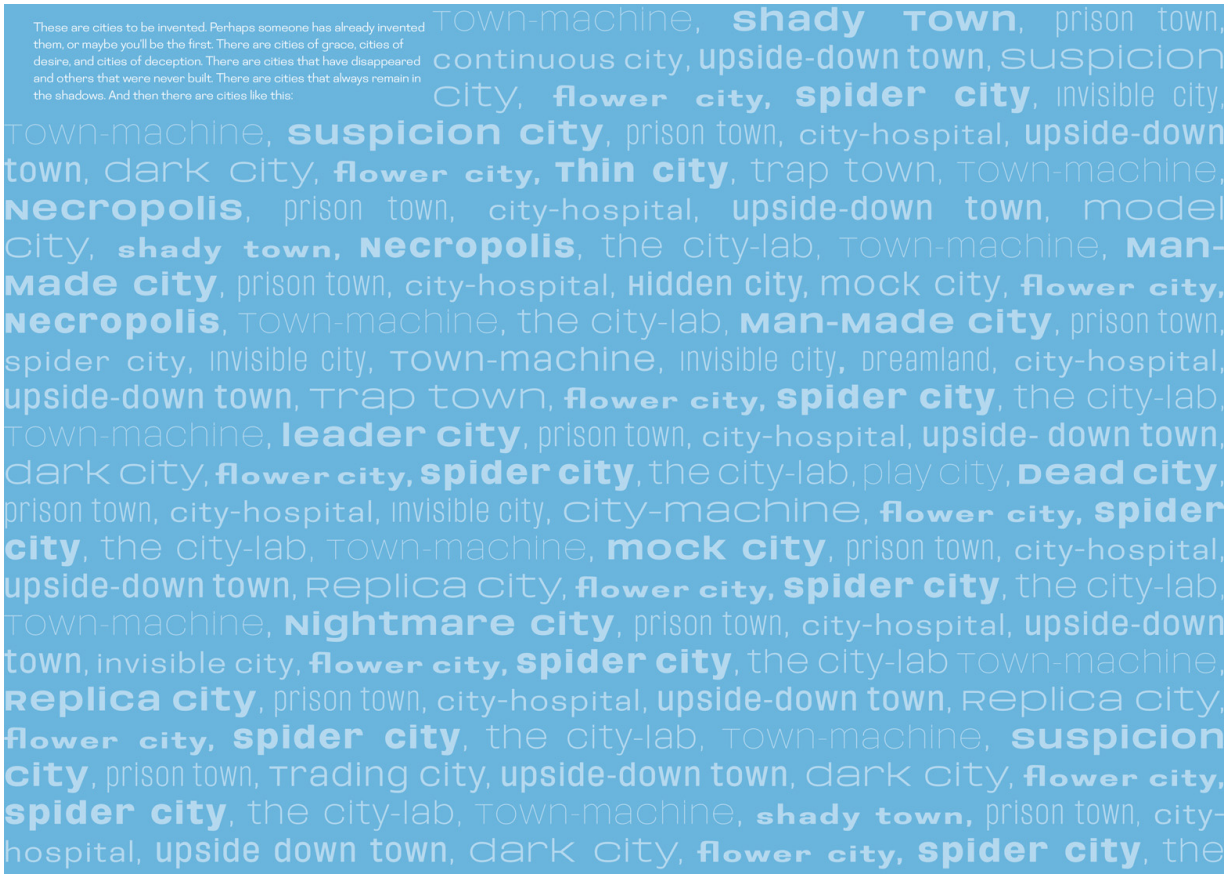
The ultimate, hidden truth of the world is that it is something that we make, and could just as easily make differently.

Cities made differently

David Graeber and Nika Dubrovsky


These are cities to be invented. Perhaps someone has already invented them, or maybe you'll be the first. There are cities of grace, cities of desire, and cities of deception. There are cities that have disappeared and others that were never built. There are cities that always remain in the shadows. And then there are cities like this:
Town-machine, shady town, prison town, continuous city, upside-down town, suspicion city, flower city, spider city, invisible city, Town-machine, suspicion city, prison town, city-hospital, upside-down town, dark city, flower city, Thin city, trap town, Town-machine, Necropolis, prison town, city-hospital, upside-down town, model city, shady town, Necropolis, the city-lab, Town-machine, Man-Made city, prison town, city-hospital, Hidden city, mock city, flower city, Necropolis, Town-machine, the city-lab, Man-Made city, prison town, spider city, invisible city, Town-machine, invisible city, dreamland, city-hospital, upside-down town, Trap town, flower city, spider city, the city-lab, Town-machine, leader city, prison town, city-hospital, upside- down town, dark city, flower city, spider city, the city-lab, play city, Dead city, prison town, city-hospital, invisible city, city-machine, flower city, spider city, the city-lab, Town-machine, mock city, prison town, city-hospital, upside-down town, Replica city, flower city, spider city, the city-lab, Town-machine, Nightmare city, prison town, city-hospital, upside-down town, invisible city, flower city, spider city, the city-lab Town-machine, Replica city, prison town, city-hospital, upside-down town, Replica city, flower city, spider city, the city-lab, Town-machine, suspicion city, prison town, Trading city, upside-down town, dark city, flower city, spider city, the city-lab, Town-machine, shady town, prison town, city-hospital, upside down town, dark city, flower city, spider city, the

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Cities made differently

David Graeber and Nika Dubrovsky

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This book is dedicated to David, who always remained a child at heart, able to sense the worlds of many different people—frightening, empty, caring, magnificent—and who thus was well aware that we, too, can remake our shared world at will. And to Benjamin, who will live in this world that we pondered while writing these books.

Nika Dubrovsky

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Introduction

In thousands of ways, we are taught to accept the world we live in as the only possible one, but thousands of other ways of organizing homes, cities, schools, societies, economies, cosmologies, have and could exist. The series of books Made Differently… is designed to play with possibility and to overcome the suspicion, instilled in us every day, that life is necessarily limited, miserable, and boring.

The project evolved over decades as an illustrated dialogue between the artist and author Nika Dubrovsky and the late anthropologist David Graeber. Nika's son, who then was four, also took part. It brings together anthropology, literature, play, and drawings.

Our Made Differently books consist of notes, quotes, photographs, film stills, and drawings, mainly by Nika. The books exist in two versions: one for reading and thinking with, the other for dreaming and drawing in. The latter can be downloaded for free at a4kids.org.

The first three books in the series are about (1) Cities, that is to say: different ways of living together, (2) Museums: different ways of thinking about values, and (3) Artists: different ways of being human.

We hope that you will feel that our book is like a kaleidoscope, in which you see changes as you are looking at it. That is why there are different ways for you to navigate these books. Following the

introduction, you will find a table of contents for the illustrated chapters.

As you flip through the pages of this book, looking at different versions of how people lived together and imagining new ways that they might yet live, perhaps you might ponder what city might be best for you.

There is also an additional path that winds through the pages of this book. It consists of keywords, which connect chapters to each other. However, the keywords we picked and the connections we made are not the only possible ones.

When you look at the index of keywords in the back, please think about what is not there: which possibilities are missing from the book? These are stories not yet written, which you might want to write or think through on your own.

The section called Study Materials, located in the back, lets you learn more about the real and fictional projects, ideas, and people mentioned in the book.

These projects and ideas offer visions of the past and the future, which are quite different from things as they are now. What do you think: could things have been otherwise? Should things become otherwise in the future? Should we think

about this together? After all, city, museum, and humanity itself are collective projects.

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Study Materials

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Glossary

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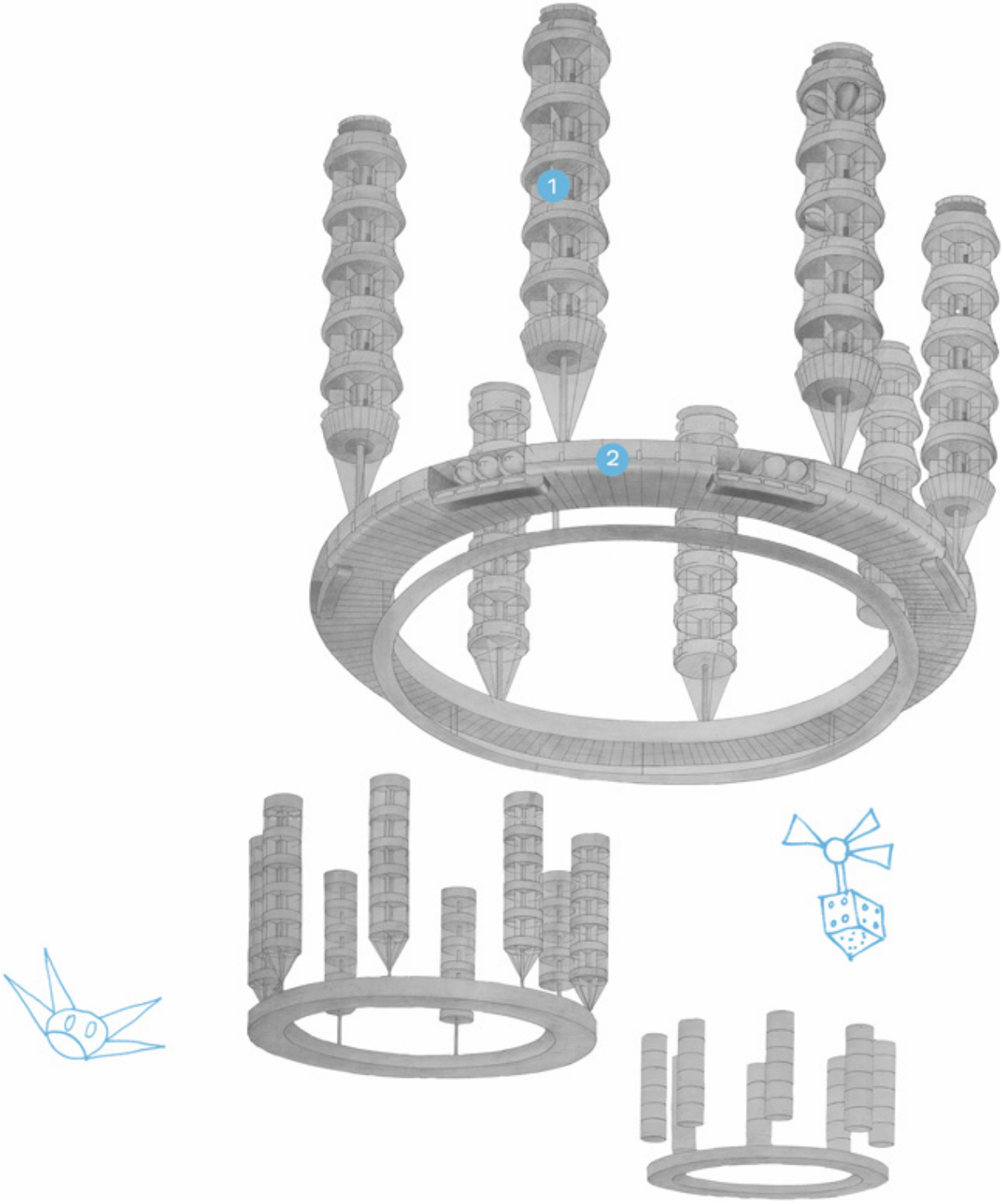
tile 1

Flying City

Architect Georgy Krutikov dreamed up Flying Cities to free humans from gravity. Left to the care of plants and animals, perhaps planet Earth could catch its breath.



1

Vertical living quarters are built into the community ring.

2

The complex consists of eight vertical five-story residential buildings with individual units connected by elevator shafts, with a horizontal, circular communal space located below.

In revolutionary Russia, Krutikov designed cities in hopes of changing the way humanity lived.

A similar idea was described in 1915 by the poet Velimir Khlebnikov:

What do you think about
living in the clouds?

He imagined that people would live in glass mobile homes whose passengers could travel wherever they wanted to. This amazing invention of human engineering would allow people to stay in communities for as long as they wished, without ever being stuck in one place forever. Mobile glass houses would be constructed to easily “plug into” giant collective flying communes, made up of travelers joining and leaving to continue their endless exploratory journey in their mobile glass homes.

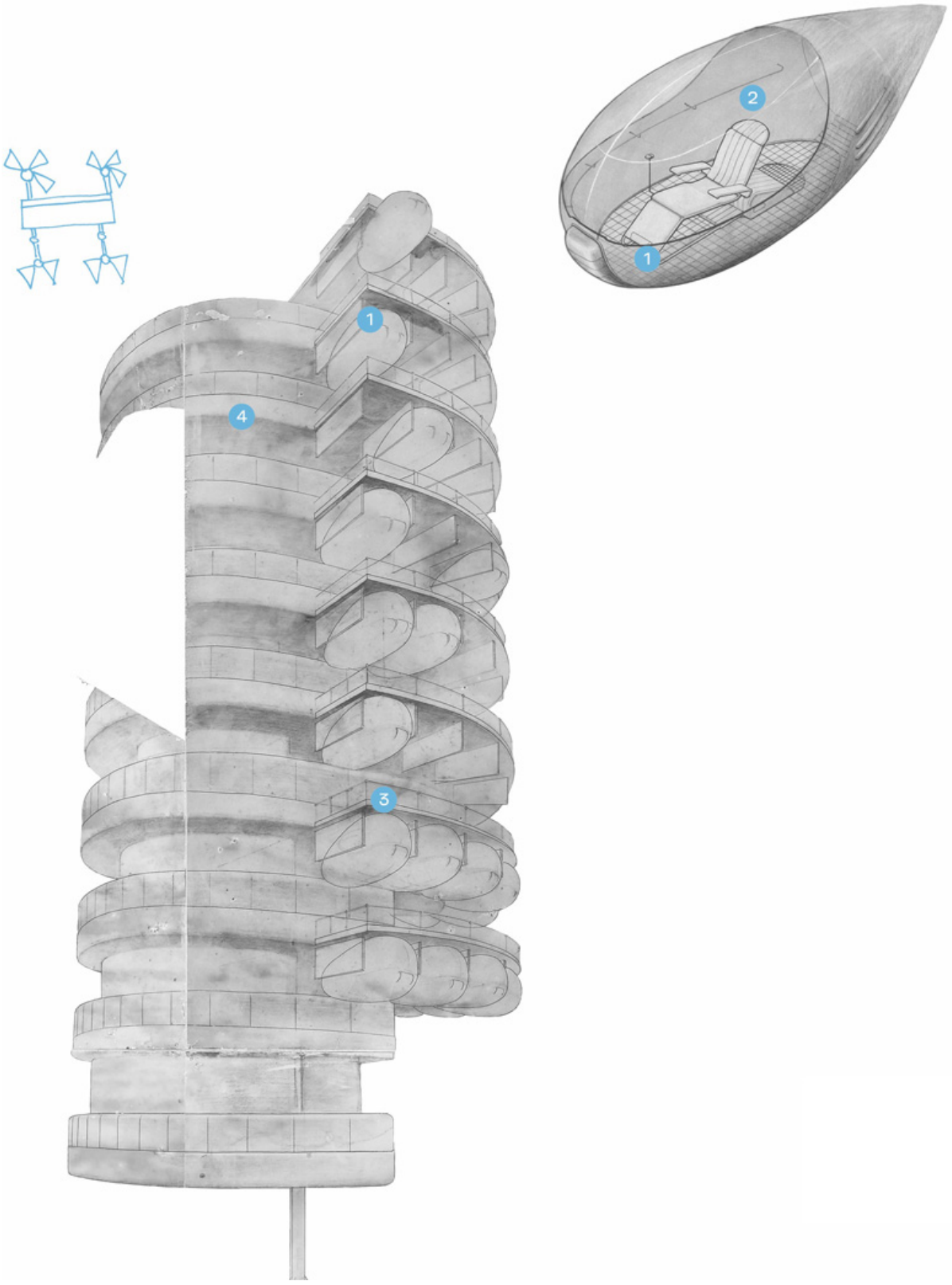
No more migrants and locals. Just human beings – travelers, true citizens of the world!

The mobile glass home will be able to join and leave large collective communes at will, continuing their endless explorations in their mobile glass hut. Travelers will become part of the environment, seeing everything that happens around through the glass walls of the mobile hut.

Small communities in the clouds can be assembled into infinitely larger cities and then dispersed again. Maybe a few people think it's bad, but most people would think it's impossible.

At night, the home will become opaque and turn into a great place to sleep.

A flying city would consist of a cluster of giant residential complexes floating above the Earth.


2
1
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4
3

1

Communication between the ground and the buildings floating in the air is carried out with the help of a universal means of transportation (the cabin), which can move in the air, on the ground, on water, and under water.

2

A mobile dwelling cabin, which can be easily connected to buildings floating in the air, is both a means of transportation and part of a stationary dwelling. The shell of the cabin and the furniture inside the cabin changes depending on the position of the person (sitting, lying down).

3

Each floor of the circular residential block is divided into six individual cells. Each cell consists of a high loggia, which supports a unit for docking and anchoring the mobile cabin cell and the living room located above it.

4

All three elements of the individual living cell (loggia, fixed cabin, and main room) are connected vertically along the elevator shaft.

Krutikov and Khlebnikov, working in times of radical revolutionary change, could hope for a large-scale realization of their projects in real life. Today, such flying cities are mostly constructed in the imagination.

Argentinian artist Tomás Saraceno has been thinking of different ways to live in the sky since 2002. As part of the research project Cloud Cities, he is developing a prototype for an international modular settlement. His aerial constructions of transparent and reflective materials are exhibited in museums around the world. Inspired by real-life structural examples of bacteria, galaxies, foam, and neural networks, this artist is looking for new ways for humans to live and travel in harmony with nature.

Would you like to live in a house that turns into a vehicle and travels between colonies? Might you be happier to stay in one place and not have to move around? There are many ways to live in the Flying City.

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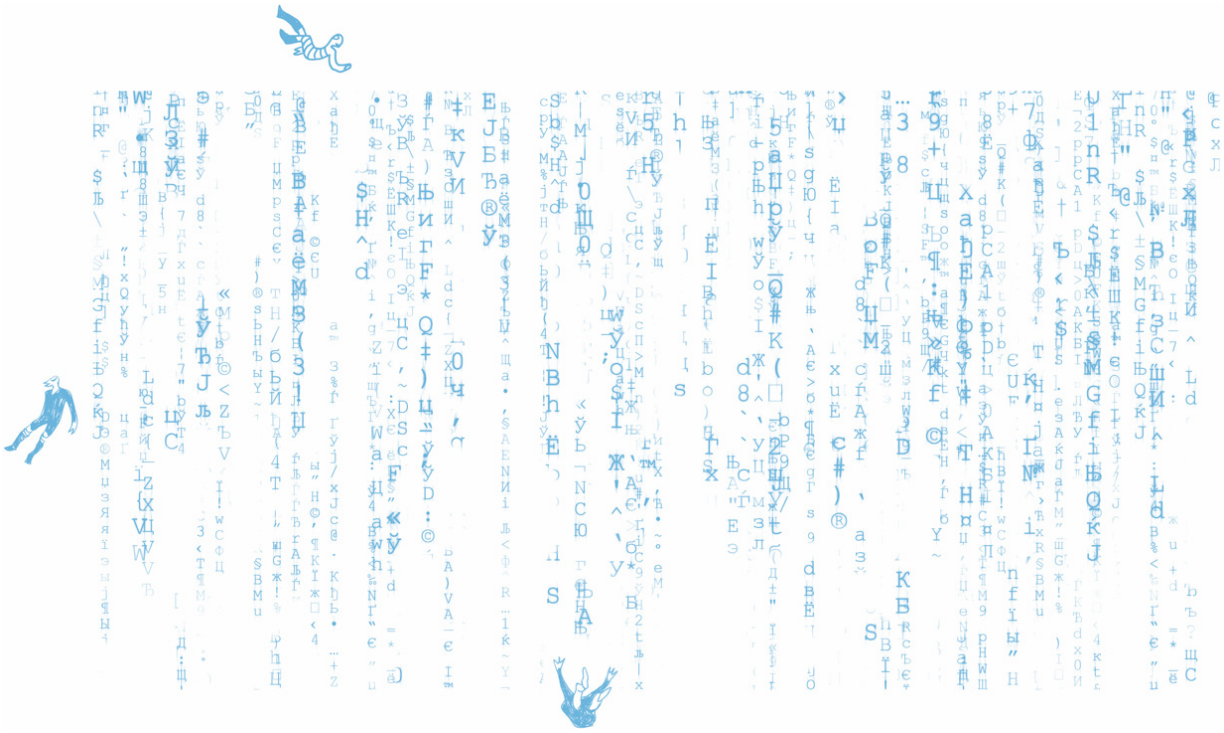
tile 2

The City That Always Sleeps

Mankind has long dreamed of technology that would free us from hard work, pain, and suffering.



Would you trade your freedom for safety and comfort? And what do you consider “safety”?

In the Wachowski sisters’ cult film The Matrix, people dream beautiful dreams served to them by intelligent,

almighty machines. The world seems perfect to the dreamers, but in the real, non-dream world, humans reduced to bodies mutilated by metal tubes and piled up in ugly sarcophagi, their cities lying in ruins.

These machines use human bodies to produce energy. The care they provide to people turns out to actually be a brutal imprisonment.

Think about it: how can we separate care that becomes oppressive from care that can liberate us?

One of the heroes of *The Matrix*, Morpheus, explains why so many people support a system that exploits them:

“The Matrix is a system. That system is our enemy. But when you're inside, you look around, what do you see? Businessmen, teachers, lawyers, carpenters. All these people are still part of the system. Most of them are not ready to be unplugged. And many of them are so inured, so hopelessly dependent on the system, that they will fight to protect it.”

A town like this is akin to a military camp, neatly controlled by machines.

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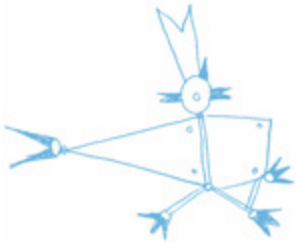
tile 3

City in the Clouds

The idea of a flying city is an age-old dream of mankind. But what if a flying city was designed not to liberate everyone but rather to let a select few control everyone else?



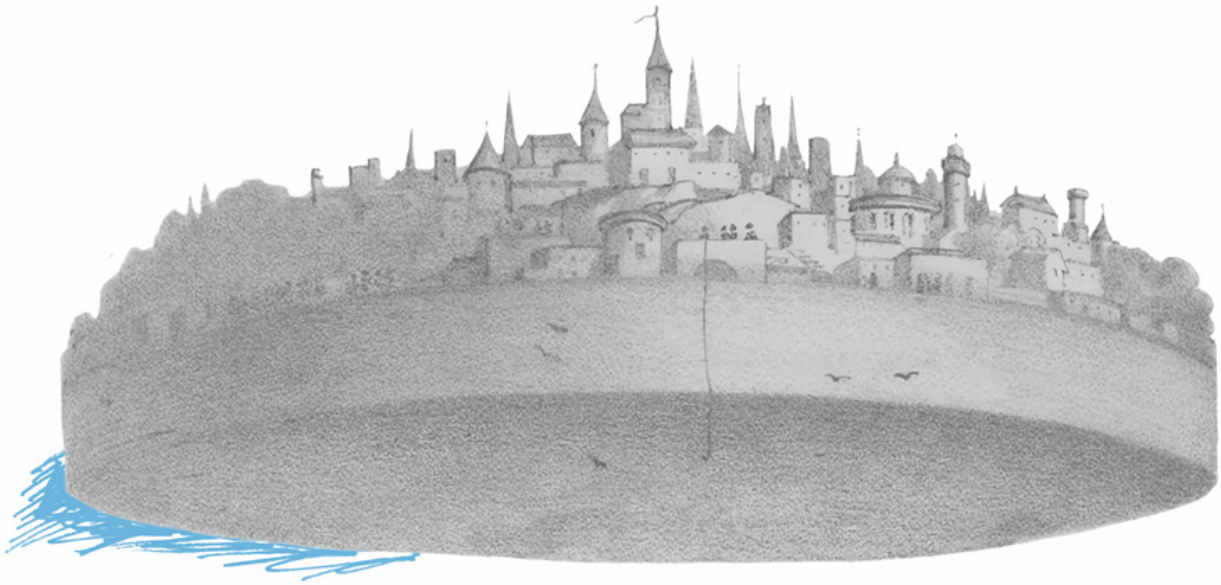
Only one city won the battle with the floating ship-city, and only because that city's scientists managed to block the weaponized magnetic field used by their attackers.

In *Gulliver's Travels*, Irish author Jonathan Swift describes a flying island—a massive weapon in the shape of a city created by scientists for the benefit of their king. The flying ship punishes rebellious towns by blocking them from the sun or rain, or, sometimes, simply by descending and flattening them.

The king uses his flying city to render his people defenseless and obedient. But what if someone came up with an even cleverer technology, one that could defeat the king?

Those who live in the clouds enjoy their power and technological advances, but what about those who remain on Earth?

Jonathan Swift wrote *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726. On his third voyage, Gulliver discovers the flying island of Laputa: “I turned back, and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun moving forwards towards the island. As it approached nearer over the place where I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright, from the reflection of the sea below. The reader can hardly conceive my astonishment, to behold an island in the air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem) to raise or sink, or put it into progressive motion, as they pleased.”



Are you willing to divide humanity between those floating above the Earth and everyone else?

The scholars of Laputa, obedient to their king, did not care whether their scientific research harmed the people down below. It seems that the scientists of the King's City were estranged from real earthly life. Their scientific discoveries were used solely to maintain the power of their king.

If the avant-garde architect Krutikov's Flying Cities had been built, perhaps many animals, fish, birds, plants, and trees would no longer face extinction. The Earth could avoid climate change disasters as people (almost like angels) would be living in the clouds. Should we actually build cities like this?

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tile 4

Military Town

It's about the basics: you attack, or you defend.

Everyone here is a fighter; everyone is prepared for war. This warrior city is about rules and discipline; order and power. The streets are clean, neat, and straight, as though drawn with a ruler. The heart of the city is the control center. This geometrical landscape emanates entirely from the will of a single person—the commander—and his fantasy of total and perfect control.

Would you agree to live in a city where there was little or no time for fun, and no end of strict regulations and punishments for those who failed to conform?

Many European cities such as Manchester, Vienna, Cologne, and Florence take their layout from Roman military camps, which were colonial outposts of the Empire.

One can think about Military town like a well-designed game with unchangeable rules: the streets, houses, and public spaces are filled with people in uniform, leading a uniform, predetermined life, under clear laws and the control of a single will. This game may enthuse some participants, but there are always going to be others who want to play a different game. For them, Imperia asserting themselves as the sole rule-makers have always been a problem–to say the least.

Compare life in two cities: one where the rules of the game are fixed, and another where townspeople can get together and reimagine city life.

Those who declined to take part in the game dictated by the Roman Empire, including the non-aligned and dissenters, became potential targets for attacks.

In a lot of countries, security forces have multiplied over the past decades.

David Graeber

“Some economists estimate that a quarter of the American population is now engaged in ‘guard labor’ of one sort or another—defending property, supervising work, or otherwise keeping their fellow Americans in line.”

1
Roman forts were protected with trenches, berms, ramparts, and walls.

2
Every Roman fort had four gates.

3
Forts had built-in hospitals for wounded and sick soldiers.

4
Grain to feed the soldiers and horses was stockpiled in storehouses.

5
Workshops to produce weapons and armor.

6
The main quarters were reserved for administrative work of all kinds and religious activities.

7
Soldiers, who served in the army for 25 years, made up the majority of the city's population. They were housed in barracks, with lots of soldiers crammed into each dwelling.

8
The largest building in the fort was the house for the commanding officer, his family, and slaves.

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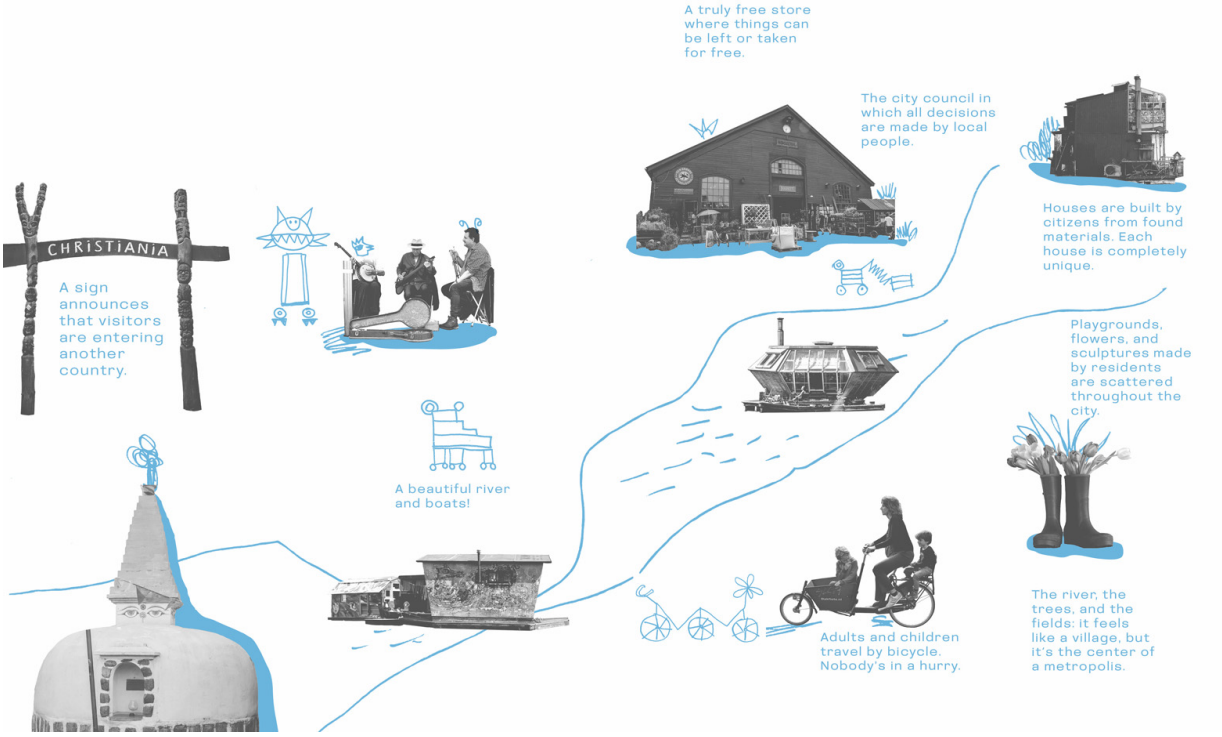
tile 5

City of Freedom

A city of freedom is one built and owned by its residents. It is home to artists, florists, bus drivers, librarians, cooks, carpenters, children, parents—and just about anyone else. But can soldiers live here?

In the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen, the home of Hans Christian Andersen, there is an area called Christiania, a free city whose founders, without asking permission from the authorities, decided to make a “fairy-tale come true” city.


A truly free store where things can be left or taken for free.
The city council in which all decisions are made by local people.
Houses are built by citizens from found materials. Each house is completely unique.
CHRISTIANIA
A sign announces that visitors are entering another country.
Playgrounds, flowers, and sculptures made by residents are scattered throughout the city.
A beautiful river and boats!
Adults and children travel by bicycle. Nobody's in a hurry.
The river, the trees, and the fields: it feels like a village, but it's the center of a metropolis.

People from countries near and far flocked to this amazing place to enjoy concerts and exhibitions. Museums sprang up all over the world with exhibitions dedicated to Christiania, featuring countless objects created by its inhabitants and photographs of their fabulous homes.

Can you build a city like this where you live?

In 1971, some Copenhagen residents took over an abandoned military barracks located in the center of the city and started a self-governing society. They called their new city Christiania, hanging a sign that

says, “You are leaving EU territory!” at its entrance and “You are entering the EU” at its exit.

The town consists mostly of public housing. Since no one regulated construction, the homes of Christiania have turned out to be surprisingly diverse. Sometimes people built houses made of window frames. Others rebuilt parts of destroyed buildings and decorated them with homemade sculptures. Some houses are completely covered with murals. Many residents survive on the souvenir trade, social benefits provided by Denmark's welfare state, and the low cost of living thanks to free housing and communal activities, such as concerts and education.

SOME LAWS OF CHRISTIANIA:

1. Everyone is responsible for everyone else.

2. Weapons and bulletproof vests are prohibited.

3. Cars are prohibited.

4. It is forbidden to steal.

5. Hard drugs are prohibited.

Eventually, the city grew so crowded it could no longer accommodate new residents. Meanwhile, the government of Copenhagen has repeatedly sued Christiania, trying to subject its inhabitants to citywide rules.

The inhabitants of this communist utopia have ultimately been forced to become private property owners. The rumor is that ever since, the communal structure of the city has been showing signs of decay.

Protest is like begging the powers that be to dig a well. Direct action is digging the well and daring them to stop you.

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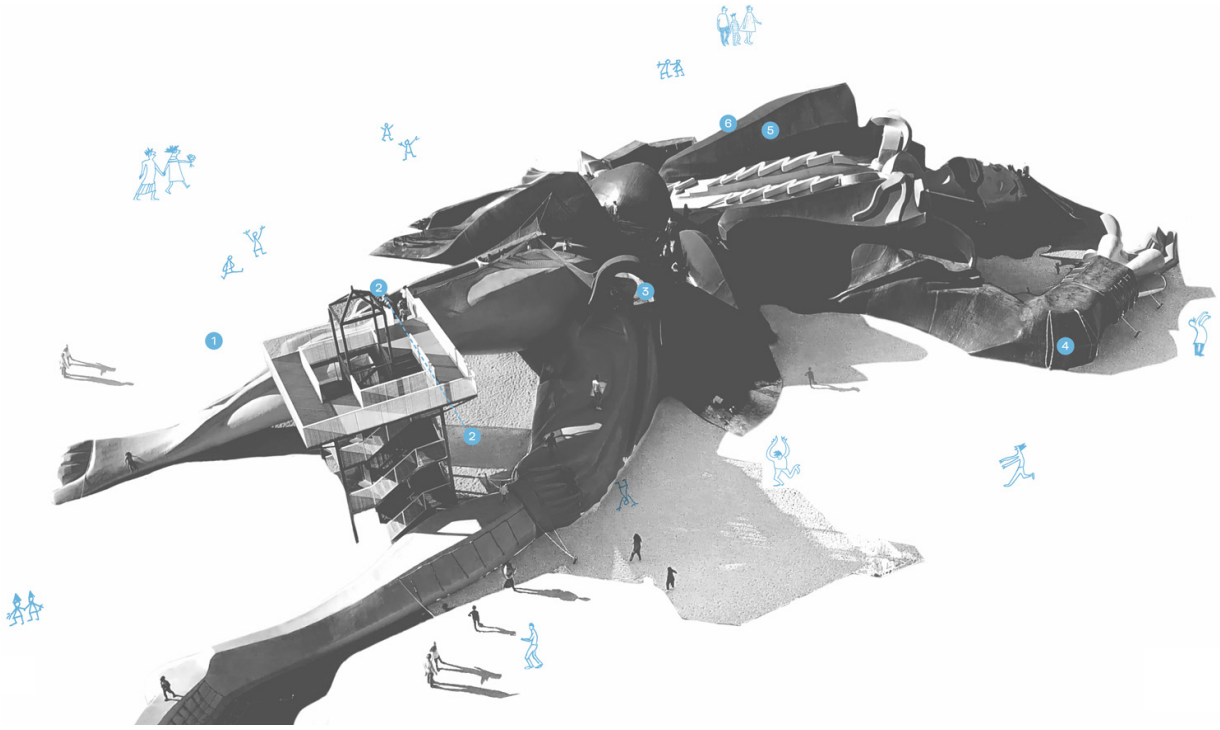
tile 6

The City of Play

What if the most essential feature of all living beings is the ability to play? Many people think of play as a childish thing, but what if we built a city around it? What if carnivals, festivals, dancing, and joy became the main pastime of its townspeople?



1

Children feel like true Lilliputians here as Gulliver is 67 meters in length and 9 meters in height.

2

There are many stairs to climb and slides to slide down, some hidden in the concrete folds of Gulliver's clothes.

3

Some slides are wide enough for a whole family to slide down.

4

Slides are hidden everywhere, even in the strands of his hair.

5

In this playground, children rule. The adult Gulliver is staked to the ground, himself made into an object of play.

6

On this playground there is a giant sculpture of a man sprawled out on the ground, which makes kids seem infinitely small, recreating Gulliver's encounter with the Lilliputians, as depicted in Jonathan Swift's classic novel, *Gulliver's Travels*.

How to play on the playground: run very fast, pretend to be someone else, catch up, hide and seek, try a

merry-go-round, meet new and old friends, show off what you can do, brag and gossip, share secrets, and be silly. Play for the sake of the game.

Schiller

“Man plays only when he is in the full sense of the word a man and he is only wholly a Man when he is playing.”

Do you think the 70,000 park employees who run hotels, restaurants, bus parks, monorail systems, amusement rides, and movie theaters find their work playful?

The Walt Disney Company is also known for creating the largest theme park in the world, Disney World. It houses the fairy-tale buildings featured in Disney cartoons. It may feel as if you've stepped into a real-life fairy tale.

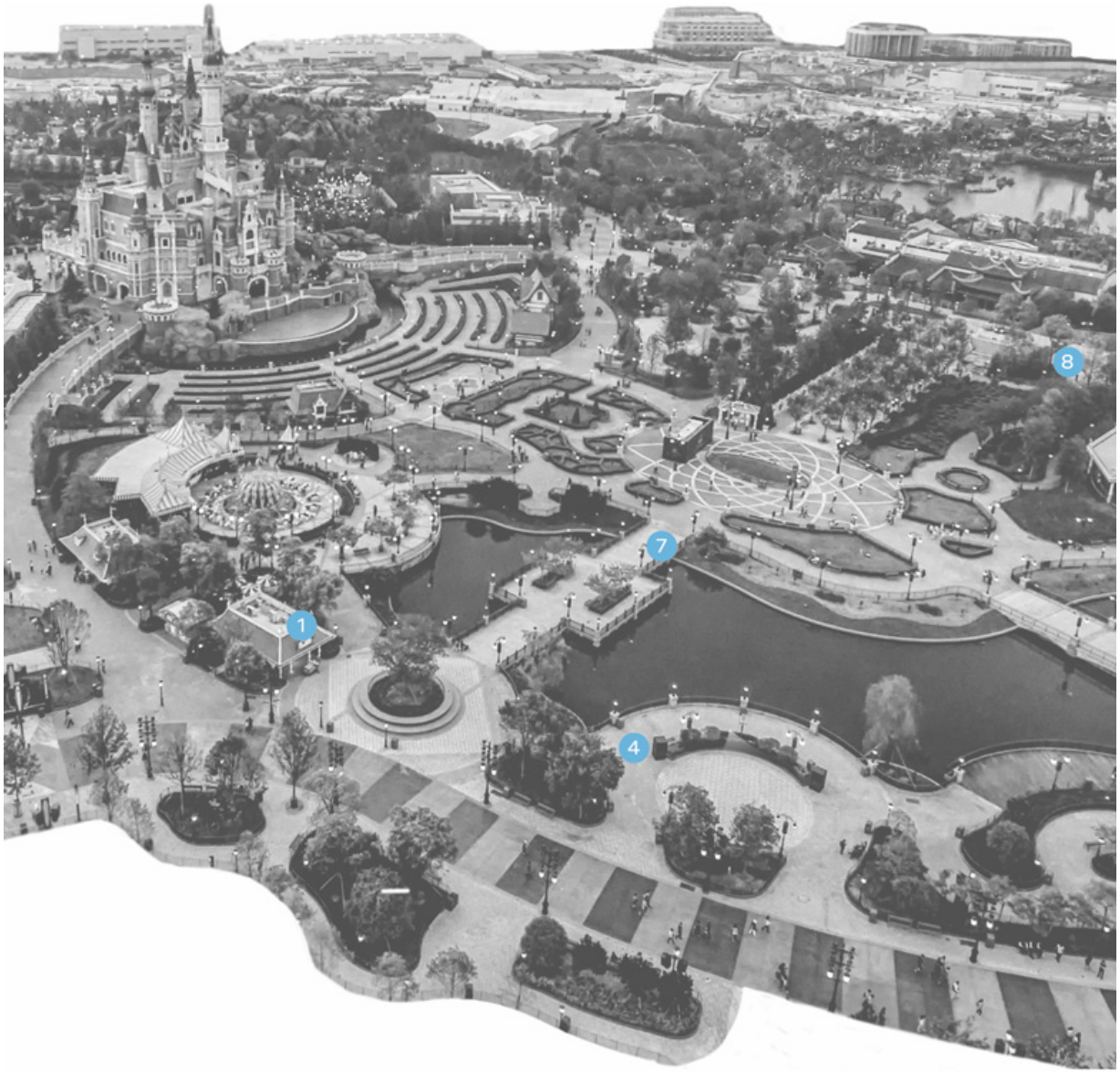
Unlike the City of Play, where the rules are invented and can be changed by the players themselves, in Disney World the roles of the participants are fixed once and for all. They are divided into buyers and sellers, into those who pay and those who receive payment.

Disney World participants seem to pretend to be preoccupied with finding treasure or meeting Sleeping Beauty, while perfectly aware that the main focus of the project is making money for one of the richest corporations on Earth.

Perhaps as people get older, they forget how to play. They forget that rules can be remade and games can always be played differently. Children know that if a game isn't fun, then it's not worth playing.

David Graeber

“Play is present when the free expression of creative energies becomes an end in itself. It is freedom for its own sake.”


8
7
1
4

1
32 resorts and hotels in Disney World can accommodate more than 36,000 people.

2
On busy days, Disney World can have up to 155,000 visitors. People need to plan and book their trip well in advance.

3
Disney Springs is a separate complex with 100 shops and 65 dining places.

4
Disney World governs the surrounding area and operates under specific tax regulations.

5
Four theme parks and two water parks are spread across the area, almost as big as San Francisco.

6
Some of the people you see there are actually undercover security personnel. There are also cameras all over the park for surveillance.

7
Beneath the Magic Kingdom of Disney Park, there's a huge tunnel system that crew members use for transportation. It covers nine acres and includes facilities like trash disposal, delivery services, warehouses, and a cafeteria for staff.

8
The parking lot for Magic Kingdom Park covers an area of more than 125 acres and can hold over 12,000 cars, which makes it one of the largest in the world. It's bigger than the park itself.

What if the center of your town became a playground? Think of it in a way that makes it interesting for old and young alike. Someplace people would want to gather—perhaps to figure out city affairs while they play?

Imagine a ten-story house designed especially for play and to run around in. A maze house, a garden-house, a park-house!

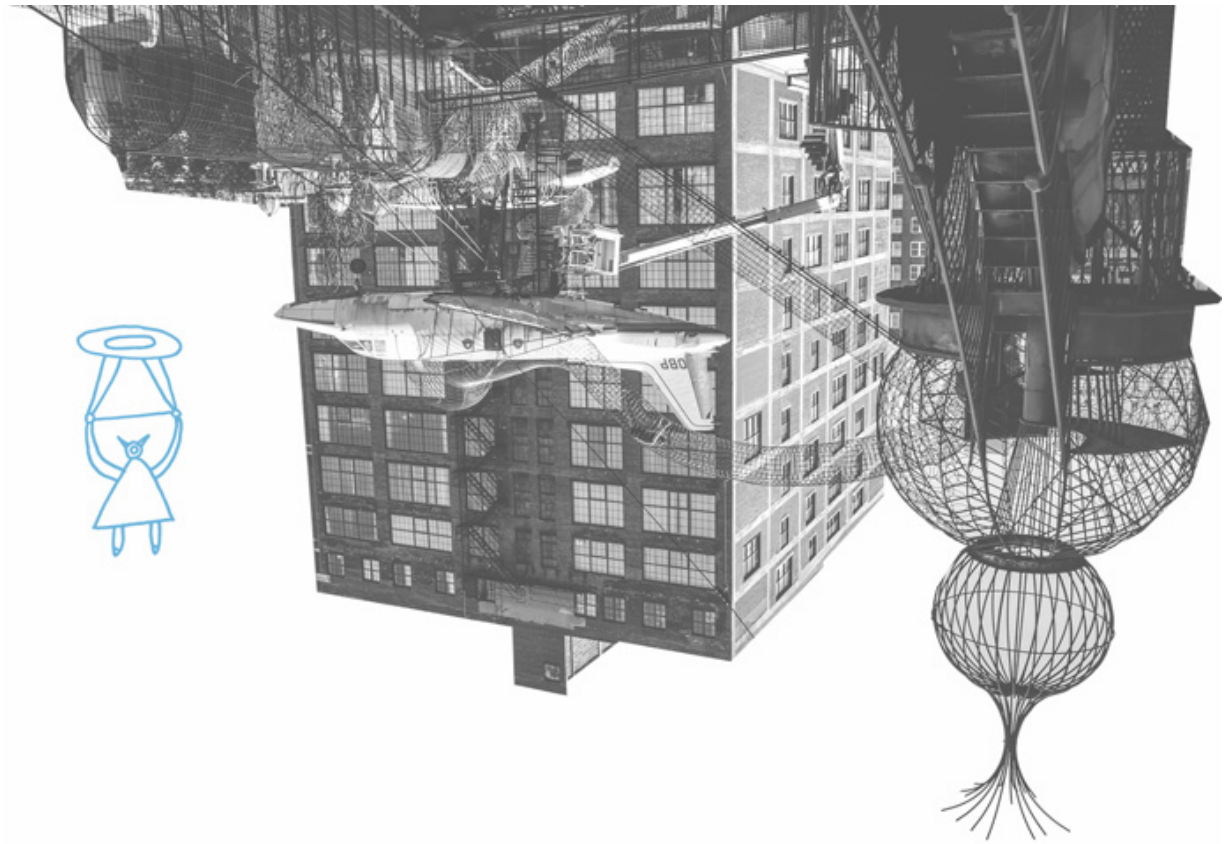
In large cities, playgrounds are often characterized by standardized designs and enclosed within grid-like fences. This design reflects a common belief that society is safest and best governed with careful partitions, walls, and lines, creating within itself stark divisions between public and private, work and leisure, white and black, legal and illegal, rich and poor, etc. Playgrounds are another way of dividing people in the name of keeping order. The young are separated from the old under the pretext of protecting each from the other.

Initially, New York City playgrounds were built at the request of the children themselves, who even collected money for play areas. However, the outcome was that the playgrounds built were more like prison yards than play zones. The city hired supervisors to order children to play certain games and to separate boys and girls to different sides of the playground.

In August 1904, several months after the public playground opened, the New York Tribune reported that “the great problem has been the maintenance of order… it has taken a year of ceaseless effort for the young men and women in charge to gain a semblance of control over the youngsters.”

Do rules keep people
safe? Or is there more
to safety than just rules?

Perhaps fenced playgrounds symbolize adults’ fear of children. Or children's fear of adults? Or perhaps our shared hope not to lose control of dangerous big-city life?



What if townspeople changed their social roles depending on the season?

The British educator A. S. Neill believed that even school should be a place for play. In 1921, he founded the Summerhill School on the basis that teachers and children should be equal. In this school, nobody is forced to go to class, and games are no less important than other tasks. Students choose subjects according to their taste, and nobody is given grades.

What if in the summer, everyone would be playful and disobedient,

and in the winter they would work hard.

All decisions are made collectively and each person has a vote. Everyone behaves as they please, as long as they don't harm others.

Come fall and spring, townsfolk would spend time learning from each other.

A. S. Neill

“I believe that to impose anything by authority is wrong. The child should not do anything until he comes to the opinion—his own opinion—that it should be done. The curse of humanity is the external compulsion, whether it comes from the Pope or the state or the teacher or the parent. It is fascism in toto.”

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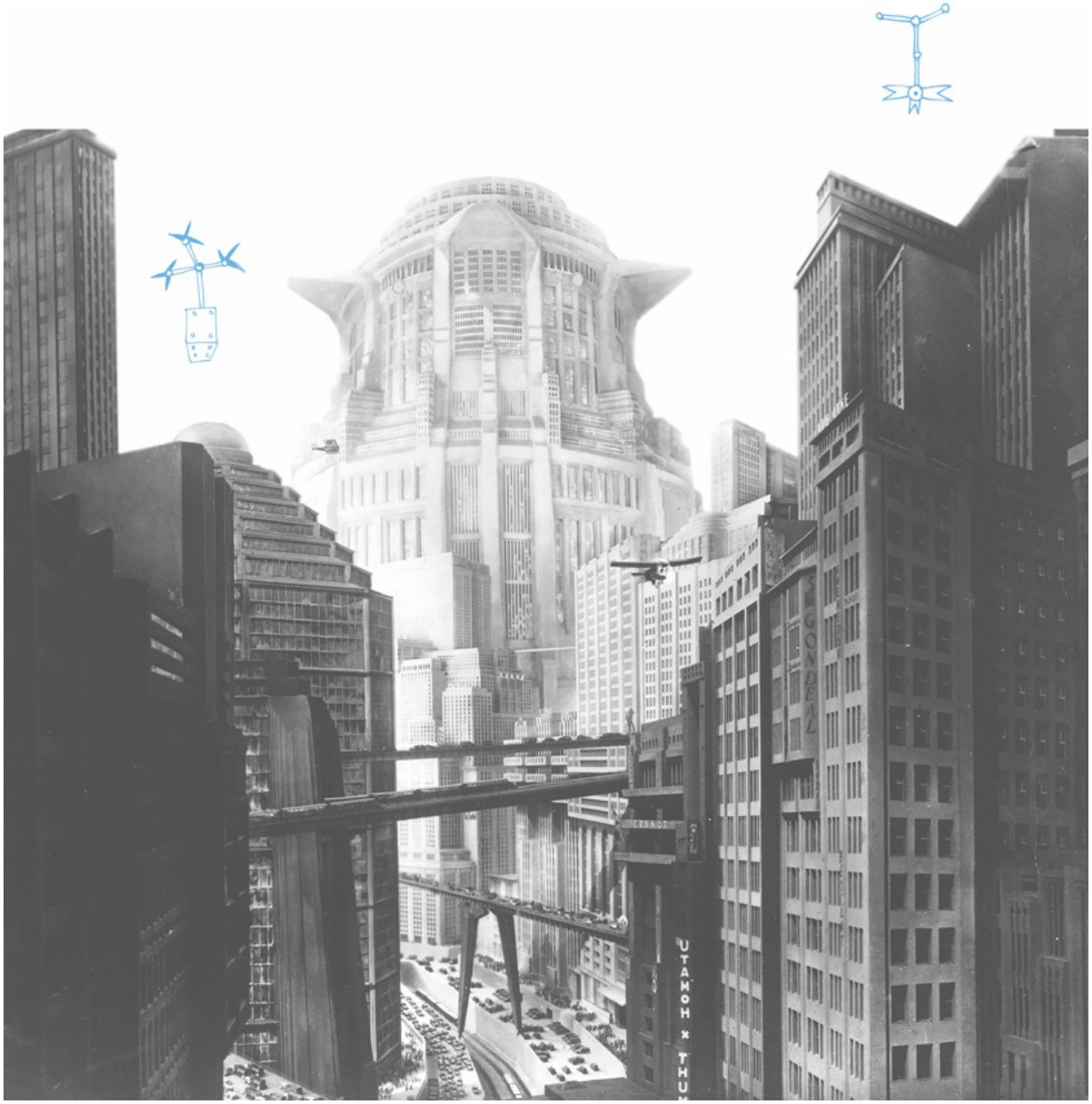
tile 7

City of Greed

What if you had to live in a city whose citizens must pay not only for housing and healthcare but also for the air they breathe?



In most cultures,
feeding travelers and
sheltering the homeless
is considered a must,
but in ours, the hungry
and homeless are
regarded as a good way

to make money. Should we change that?

The dystopian novel *The Air Merchant* takes place in a secret underground factory city. Mr. Bailey, the factory owner, condenses air from the atmosphere and sells it to his fellow citizens for a profit. Eventually, the Earth's atmosphere thins, creating a catastrophic shortage of breathable air. With the price of air increasing, fewer and fewer humans can afford to keep breathing.

When people can't pay for the air they breathe, the police throw them out of the city. Everyone lives in constant fear of suffocating, thinking only of how to earn enough money to spare their loved ones and themselves that terrible fate.

Do you think the world would be a better place if there was a price tag on water, food, sunlight, and even air?

The food company Nestlé is often criticized for its irresponsible use of water in India, Pakistan, and other developing countries. Captured in the documentary film *We Feed the World* (2005), a former Nestlé chairman said:

Peter Brabeck-Letmathe

“It's a question of whether we should privatize the normal water supply for the population. And there

are two different opinions on the matter […] NGOs, who bang on about declaring water a public right […] That's an extreme solution. The other view says that water is a foodstuff like any other, and like any other foodstuff, it should have a market value. Personally, I believe it's better to give a foodstuff a value so that we're all aware it has its price … ”

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tile 8

City as a Family

Imagine a city without any strangers, where everything is shared, and everyone looks after each other. There are no shops, no money, and no danger at all.

We think of the family as a group that practices “basic communism”: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. Any family is thought to be protected by bonds of kinship from the cruel laws of the outside world. Unlike businesses, rarely will a family throw out a sick child or an elderly parent because they are no longer “revenue-generating assets.”

According to Roman law, which still underlies the value system of Western societies, a family was all those people living within the household of a paterfamilias, or father, whose authority over them was recognized as absolute. Under the protection of her own father, a wife might be spared abuse, but his children, slaves, and other dependents were his to do with as he wanted. According to early Roman law, a father was fully within his rights to whip, torture, or sell them. A father could even execute his children, provided that he found them to have committed capital crimes. With his slaves, he didn't even need that excuse.

Familia (as proponents of “family values”) derives from famulus, meaning “slave.”

Dominium derives from dominus, meaning “master” or “slave-owner,” but ultimately from domus, meaning “house” or “household.”

Sometimes family members don't agree with each other, while people from totally different places might find they have much more in common.

Patriarchal family is also the model for authoritarianism. In ancient Rome, the patriarch had the right to treat his household members as property rather than as equal human beings.

The Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed that humankind originally lived in small bands of hunter-gatherers composed of close friends and relatives until big cities and agriculture emerged, and with them wars, greed, and exploitation.

However, archaeology shows us numerous examples of how people in different times and across different parts of the Earth lived in large metropolitan areas while managing their collective affairs on a fairly egalitarian basis. At the same time, there have always been small communities where status inequality prevailed and a privileged minority at the top benefited by exploiting the rest.

Do people have to be related to share a worldview?

We know from our personal experience that in almost every family, there are elements of both authoritarianism and baseline communism. This contradiction never fully goes away but different cultures handle it differently.

“And the boys go into business And marry and raise a family In boxes made of ticky-tacky And they all look just the same.”

Malvina Reynolds

City-less City

Road construction and cheap gasoline made it possible in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to create huge residential settlements outside of cities, called suburbs, where neighbors live very close to one another but remain strangers. These suburbs have created many environmental problems. Suburbanites spend hours and burn millions of gallons of fuel commuting to and from their jobs in cities. And vast natural areas that once were forests, lakes, and fields, places where birds and animals lived, have been destroyed to build large, uniform houses and lawns.

“Perhaps the most important thing we produce is other human beings. Outside of that, the production of things has no meaning.”

David Graeber

The suburbs became the domestic sphere where human life is reproduced: where children are born and raised, where dishes are washed (mostly by women), and where relatives gather. Conversely, the city remains the public sphere where (mostly men) make

money, write laws, and produce useful things far away, or at least a couple hours drive away from the suburbs.

What if instead of cities and suburbs, there were networks of settlements where people both worked and lived, and grew food, and raised and educated their kids? For large festivals or carnivals, everybody would come together!

1

Water

Phoenix is a desert. Water for the city is supplied by pipeline from the Colorado River, over 300 miles away, and the river is drying up.

2

Houses

Phoenix homes are built without regard to their environment, a desert, where temperatures exceed 100 degrees for more than 100 days a year. As a result, a massive amount of energy goes into cooling them.

3

Roads

Phoenix is a huge highway. Eighty-eight percent of Phoenix residents commute by car to work. There is virtually no public transportation, and the city ranks among the worst in the country for ozone pollution.

4

Office Buildings

The largest office buildings in the Valley have 10.6 million square feet of space. A quarter of Phoenix's office space is unused.

5

Banks

There are currently 194 branches of 38 different banks in Phoenix, AZ.

6

Palo Verde Nuclear Plant, the largest in the U.S. and the only one not located on its own body of water, uses all of the city's wastewater.

This is a picture of the cursed American suburbs

(Phoenix, Arizona)

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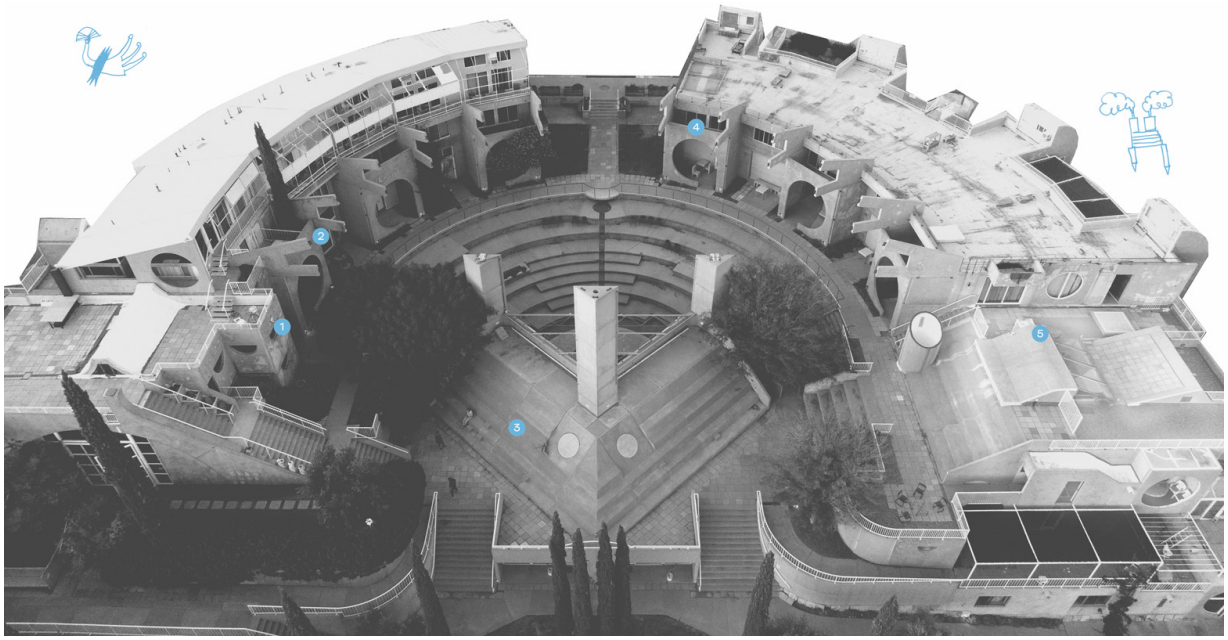
tile 9

City in the Desert

Arcosanti is a city for 2,000 people in the middle of a dead desert. Inside this big house, each resident has their own small bedroom, but they all come together to eat, work, and play.



1
The Sky Suite, a two-bedroom rental apartment for tourists.

2
Ten live/work units will house up to sixty residents once finished.

3
Big musical and theatrical performances are held in the Amphitheater, which seats up to 500 spectators.

4
The classroom can accommodate up to fifty people for workshops and community events.

5
Administrative offices, the planning and drafting department, and Paolo Soleri's former apartment. There is also a large meeting room and greenhouse.

Italian architect Paolo Soleri designed and built Arcosanti—a city in the Arizona desert. Soleri wanted Arcosanti to show how urban life can be lived with reverence for nature and how it could benefit the city's residents rather than generate profit. Arcosanti has everything needed for a comfortable life: residential buildings, cafes, hotels, stores, a movie theater,

gardens, farms, a swimming pool, and an amphitheater for public assemblies.

One could say that Arcosanti has become a materialized ecological utopia, a model city built in spite of and as an admonition to its neighboring city, Spring Valley, whose population is comparable to Arcosanti, while the city itself occupies an incredibly larger area.

In a sense, the entire town of Arcosanti is one big building with small living and large public spaces, replete with everything each resident would need.

In the face of climate chaos, how to build

resource-efficient cities?

It is striking to realize that most of our problems have already been solved in the last century. It turns out it is possible to live without destroying the environment, without kicking out extra people who don't fit in who are taking our jobs. Because, you know what? We don't actually need to work that hard, because most of the jobs are created by crooked social design: for the purpose of building unnecessary houses and infrastructure, producing cars, gasoline, people who organize and sell it all to us.

David Graeber

“If it's really true that as much as half the work we do could be eliminated without any significant effect on overall productivity, why not just redistribute the remaining work in such a way that everyone is working four-hour days? Or four-day weeks with four months’ yearly vacation time? Or some similarly easy-going arrangement? Why not start shutting down the global work machine? If nothing else, it would probably be the most effective thing we could do to put a brake on global warming.”

If people only had to work a few hours a week, we would have cities like Arcosanti all over the world.

In the developed world the majority of the population lives in cities that need huge amounts of energy to sustain themselves. Their life is generally divided into private and work domains, so they have to spend a lot of time getting to and from work every day.

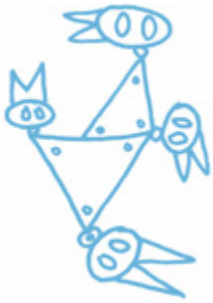
New office spaces are constantly being built, although during Covid it became apparent that many jobs are actually Bullshit Jobs, and we can get by without them altogether. Whereas necessary jobs can be done locally.

Perhaps enact a worldwide law to restrict the construction of environmentally harmful cities?

Arcosanti was built as a form of creative refusal of the lifestyle based on endless work, loneliness and destruction of nature.

The starkly contrasting lifestyles and value systems between Arcosanti and Spring Valley have led to radically divergent uses of technology in the design of their living spaces.

Spring Valley is laid out differently in every way: it consists of one-story houses strung along the highway, with thin walls, so they require constant heating in the winter and cooling in the summer. While Arcosanti residents walk everywhere, people in Spring Valley have to drive everywhere, to work, the store, the movies.



The question is, what happens to cities like Spring Valley, whose very survival depends on access to affordable oil and gas?

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tile 10

Sanctuary City

Climate change means natural disasters will become more common. Could a city protect its residents from extreme weather? Could it feed and heal its own citizens?

In 1931, Abram Ioffe, known as the father of Soviet physics, proposed the idea of making single-building cities in the USSR. As many as a million people would live in one such house. As conceived by Ioffe, these cylindrical, windowless buildings would be heated by human body heat. Workplaces, private quarters, and public spaces would be placed no further than five hundred meters from each other, i.e., a seven- to eight-minute walk. Ioffe's ideas are similar to Paolo Soleri's, as both planned architectural spaces that could anticipate every aspect of human life, including energy consumption, work, entertainment, and even sleep.

In the early twentieth century, progressive architects built iconic examples of collective living, with small living quarters and lots of public space, such as communal canteens, laundries, and gardens. The ecological footprint of a person living in a compact city is much smaller than that of a person living in the suburbs, who has to travel long distances for work, food, school, and healthcare. People also feel better living together so long as their rights to privacy, safety, and personal space are preserved.

What if a million people moved into a single building? This city-building could have vast gardens and large windows to light roomy apartments. There would be no cars or buses carrying people to work as everyone works together inside. Parks and playgrounds would be located directly on the ground floor.

Heating, eating, and commuting costs would be minimal.

Many people believe that climate change will soon make it impossible to live in open spaces.

Large, technologically sophisticated cities may become the only safe place for mankind. They would protect people from wildfires, floods, and drastic temperature changes.

The Saudi monarchy is building a city for nine million residents, designed to be resilient to climate change. The Line will have no cars or streets, just as in Arcosanti. It will be possible to reach every essential living space, including schools, work, and apartments, within five minutes. Residents will be able to reach shopping and entertainment areas through a high-speed train located beneath the building.

The city will be powered entirely by renewable energy. Artificial intelligence will take care of the city's infrastructure, including its energy, water, waste, transportation, healthcare, and safety.

Do you think The Line is more of an attempt by humanity to save itself from climate disasters or the opposite: ignoring that it exists altogether?

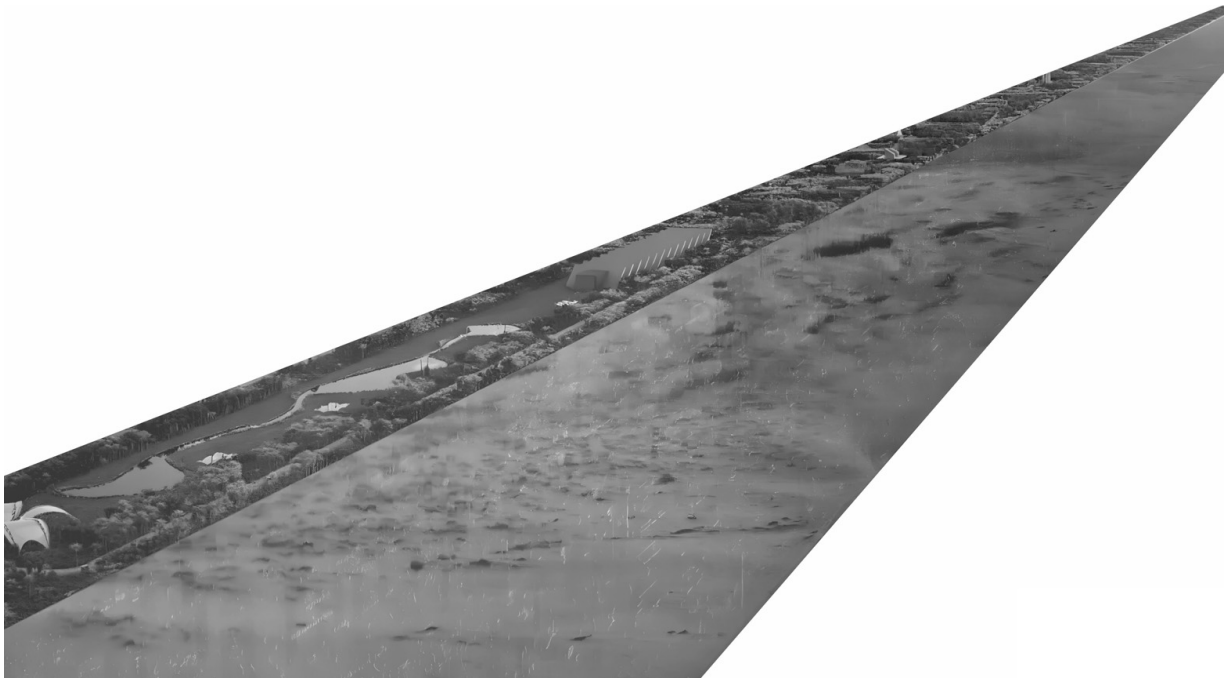
A city-garden located in the heart of the desert. Isn't this proof that humans can control nature? But the construction of The Line would produce upwards of 1.8 billion tons of carbon dioxide, the equivalent of more than four years' worth of the UK's entire emissions.

We have one planet and one ecosystem. However, we have divided the earth into states and allow nations to do whatever they want within their own territory,

although the climate change disaster they are each contributing to will affect everyone.

Artificial intelligence will be used by The Line to integrate the city's life support systems, energy generation, and transportation. Yet, rules are made by humans, not by computers. Neutral technology does not exist. Technology is always political. Imagine what a Smart City might look like if the rules were written by a villain or a madman? What if the manager thinks women shouldn't be allowed to leave their flats or that children should be beaten?

Compare Line City and Arcosanti. Where would you rather live?



Buildings

Homes, shops, schools, and other facilities will stack vertically, making them accessible from within.

Walls

The structure will have an outer mirror facade and will be 500 meters tall, 170 kilometers long, but only 200 meters wide.

Transportation

An underground high-speed rail network will run the length of the megastructure and will connect both ends of the city within twenty minutes.

Outside

The outside will remain as desolate as it was before, but for migrating birds, the large mirrored structures are very dangerous.

Streets

Roads and streets will be replaced by piazzas and walkable boulevards filled with parks and green spaces.

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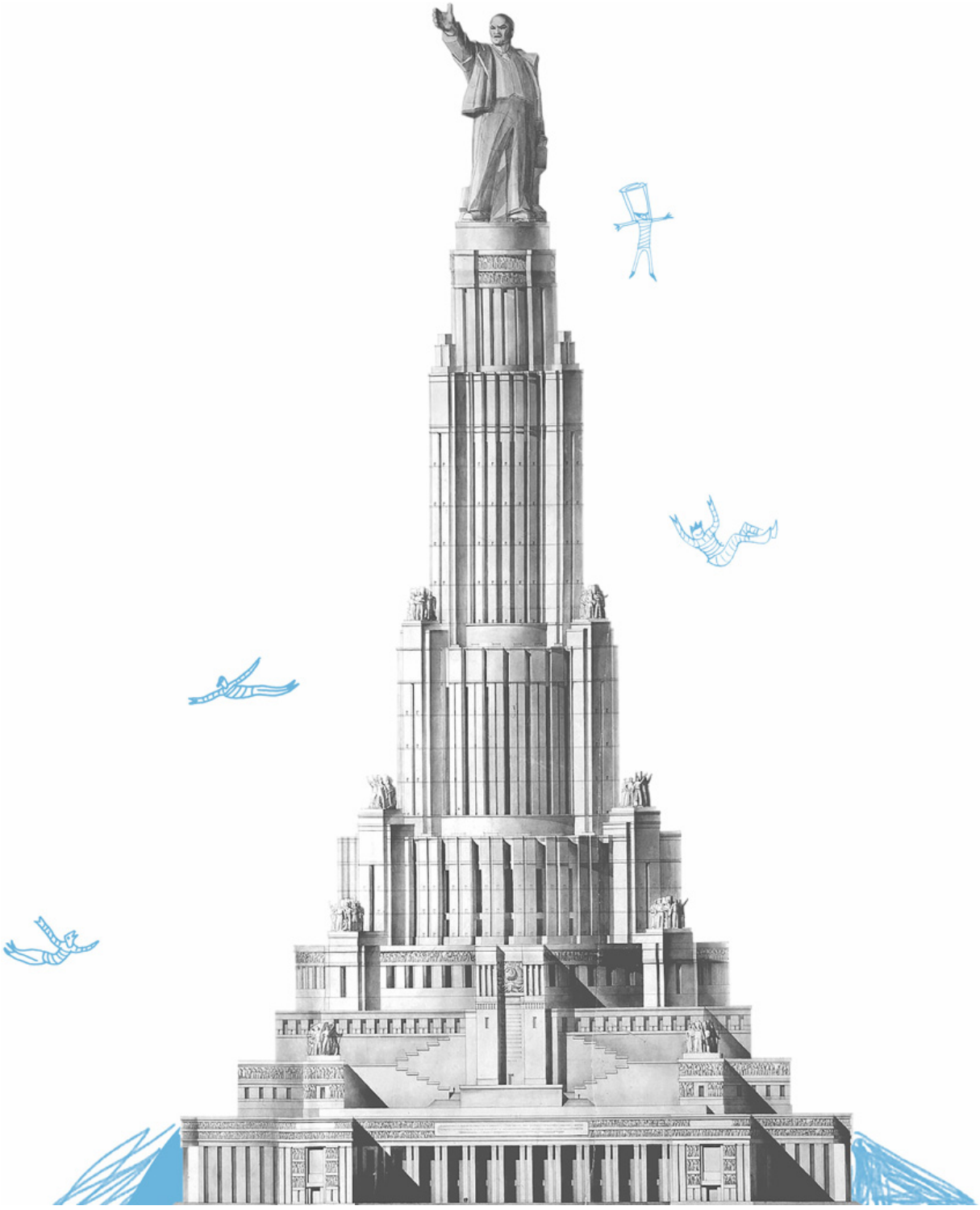
tile 11

Leader City

There are places where king-like figures reign for many years. It's believed that they are just great people—comrades or even relatives of everyone.



In the center of such towns there are sculptures of the chief. At the beginning of each day, the residents bow three times to the image of the chief, chanting “Thank

you, chief, father!” If people love their leader, the leader will return their love and protect them from enemies. Do you think that's a safe guess?

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tile 12

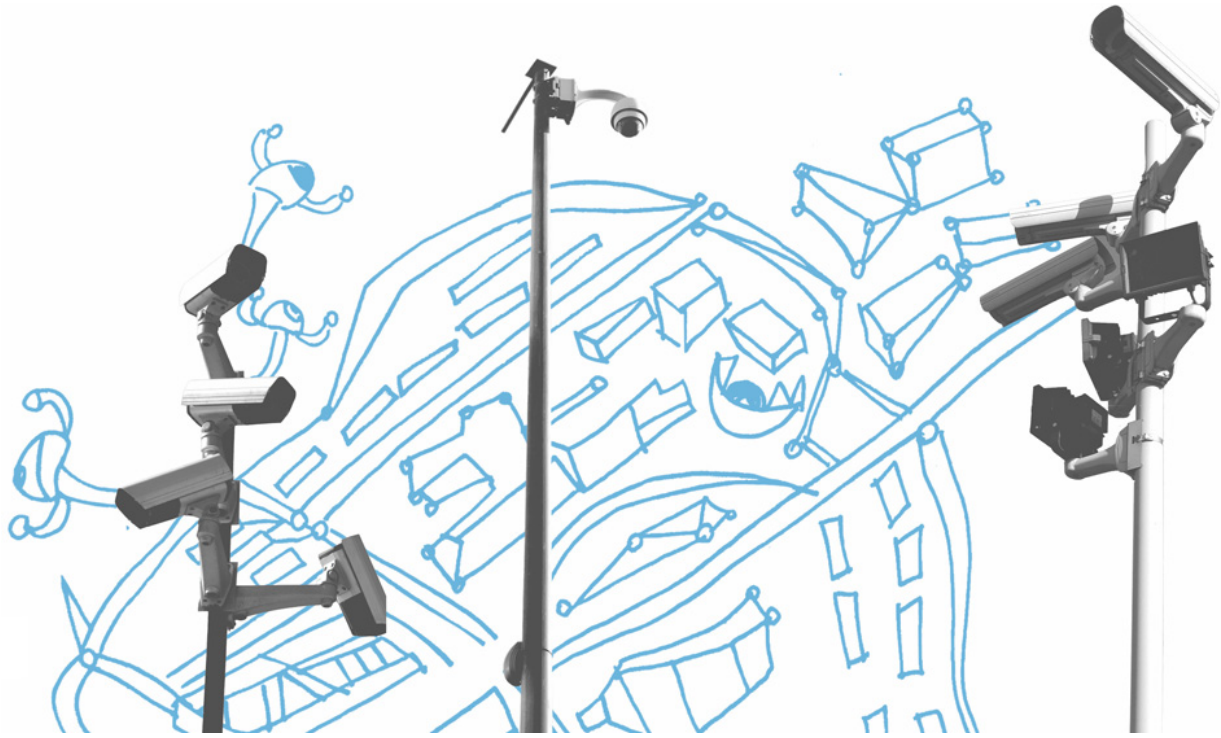
City of the Watched

All residents are assigned a flying-eye camera that follows them everywhere they go.

Do you think it's normal to live under constant surveillance by a flying eye? Maybe a little annoying?

CCTV cameras, introduced in England in the 1950s, were designed to monitor traffic. Since then they have spread everywhere, filming citizens not only on the streets but also in stores, schools, hospitals, parks, and even at home. Londoners are monitored by nearly

one million surveillance cameras, some of which are already connected to a centralized facial recognition system.



Some adults like to be
under complete control
as if they were little kids.
Just like in Leader City.
How about you?

David Graeber

“The bureaucratization of daily life means the imposition of impersonal rules and regulations;

impersonal rules and regulations, in turn, can only operate if they are backed up by the threat of force. And indeed, in this most recent phase of total bureaucratization, we've seen security cameras, police scooters, issuers of temporary ID cards, and men and women in a variety of uniforms acting in either public or private capacities, trained in tactics of menacing, intimidating, and ultimately deploying physical violence, appear just about everywhere—even in places such as playgrounds, primary schools, college campuses, hospitals, libraries, parks, or beach resorts, where fifty years ago their presence would have been considered scandalous, or simply weird."

Privacy activists argue that filming people who are not suspects poses a threat to public well-being.

Edward Snowden

"Saying that you don't care about the right to privacy because you have nothing to hide is no different than saying you don't care about freedom of speech because you have nothing to say."

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tile 13

Transparent City

You can't hide from other people's eyes even for a second. All the walls in this city are transparent.

Yevgeny Zamyatin

We by Yevgeny Zamyatin, published in 1924, was one of the first dystopian novels. It describes a society in which the state machine has excessive power. Inspiring George Orwell's *1984* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World, We* helped introduce the idea of dystopia as a literary genre.

The story takes place in a distant future, in a city isolated from the world by a green glass wall. Everything in it is subject to a strictly organized schedule: people get out of bed at the same time, eat their meals, and go to work or study, as though all of them are parts of a huge machine.

People want to be with each other. Yet they want to keep something

for themselves. Where
do we draw the line?

The heroes of the novel do not have personal names, but are instead marked by numbers. Each citizen is equally unfree within the system. Even the Benefactor, who rules the United State, is as much a slave to the system as any other Number. The lack of freedom is considered a guarantee of happiness because they believe in this city that freedom and happiness are incompatible, and that the main enemy of happiness is imagination, which the United State has learned to remove by means of X-rays.

In Zamyatin's city, people voluntarily give up their freedom or, as Thomas Hobbes would say, “enter into a social contract” to organize their lives so as to secure the happiness and welfare of the collective. The inhabitants of the city believe that as soon as the Benefactor and his guardians cease to watch every step of each one of them, they will immediately sink into the abyss of madness or turn to violence toward one another.

Zamyatin writes:

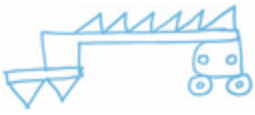
“For Numbers (as the inhabitants of the city were called) the need for the guiding hand of the Benefactor and complete submission to the control of the guardian spies became a necessity:

It felt so good to feel someone's watchful eye lovingly guarding against the slightest mistake, against the slightest misstep. It may sound a little sentimental, but the same analogy comes to my mind again: the guardian angels of which the

ancients dreamed. How much of what they only dreamed of has materialized in our lives."

Today's authorities have a far greater technological capacity for control over people's lives than has ever existed in the history of mankind. Powerful agencies can intrude into the daily lives of virtually everyone using surveillance technology, whereas in the past, the State could only know what you were up to by means of spies overhearing conversations and collecting gossip. It seems that we are witnessing Thomas Hobbes's wild nightmare come to fruition with the construction of a real, digital Leviathan.

Which decisions in life would you like to keep private and not discuss with anyone, or only with very trusted friends?



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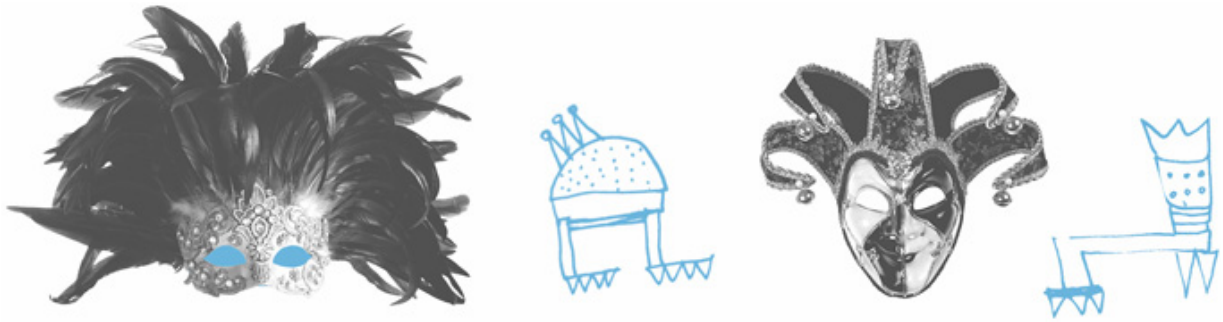
tile 14

City of Masks

Imagine a city where everyday life is a Carnaval! Every morning everyone must decide who to be today: a young beauty, a squeaky monster, a shady spy. Everyone can be whoever they want to be.



This is how carnivalesque Venice used to be for a few months of the year, a city built by fugitives and pirates hiding in its swampy shores from justice, debts, or taxes. The Mask was protected by the Republic of Venice. People went everywhere wearing one: to a salon, a government office, a monastery, a ball, a palace or a gambling house. During Carnival, rich and poor, beautiful and ugly, young and old disappeared. A patrician in a long robe could turn out to be a miserable beggar, and a humble.

David Graeber

”We will remain faceless because we refuse the spectacle of celebrity, because we are everyone, because the carnival beckons, because the world is upside down, because we are everywhere. By wearing masks, we show that who we are is not as important as what we want, and what we want is everything for everyone.”

What if behind the urge
to live under
unbreakable rules is
merely the fear of play?

A nun, a dexterous dealer, a noble lady, and a spy from a hostile kingdom–all were transformed into carnival performers, hidden behind a mask.

If the rules of carnival are that people are not the same thing as their masks, everyone must be as creative as possible in becoming the other. In war, the rules of the game are the opposite: everyone is exactly the same as their uniform. That is why members of one team kill the members of the enemy team as if everyone on the other team was the same person.

Most soldiers suspect that underneath the uniforms people are different: they are smart and stupid, young and old, beautiful and ugly. But for the sake of the game, it is decided otherwise. If the soldiers from the Military Town walked into the City of Masks, maybe they'd simply add to the cast of carnivalesque characters.

Compare the City of Masks with regulation-obsessed Cities, where all the rules are set and it's expected that everyone obeys, but no one is able to change anything.

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tile 15

Invisible City

Imagine a city where citizens can become invisible whenever they please.

What if you could turn invisible at will? Could you resist becoming a criminal?

The Invisible Man by H. G. Wells is a brilliant novel about a poverty-stricken inventor who discovers the secret of invisibility. By using his invention he hopes to secure money to live on and for his future research. Under capitalism, however, money is always tied to power. So our hero ultimately destroys himself and his invention trying to bring the whole world under his control.

H. G. Wells

“I am just a human being—solid, needing food and drink, needing covering, too— But I'm invisible.“

“Alone—it is wonderful how little a man can do alone!”

Is it possible to be safe in the city of invisible people?

Some believe that the surest way to avoid disaster is to allow only those technologies that society can collectively control.

In modern cities, where surveillance cameras follow us everywhere, invisibility is very tempting. American designer Adam Harvey makes costumes that help those wishing to escape the intrusive eye of the camera. Harvey offers neckties, pins, raincoats, and scarves, made with a special coating that confuses cameras, making your face or figure look blurry in the picture.

A technology that lets you control when you can or can't be seen would make you all powerful. Especially if others can't do it!

Imagine you were tasked with putting together a list of beneficial and dangerous technologies.

The Open Source movement advocates for collaborative production. People agree to be open with technologies they are building, allowing others to make modifications.

What two technologies would you forbid and

what two technologies would you encourage?

This is how Adrian Bowyer's RepRap 3D printer was made, which was designed to print itself. Over the fifteen years of its existence, its price has dropped from thousands of dollars to a few hundred. Now a community of developers from around the world can potentially print anything for themselves, from household necessities to fine jewelry.

Would making technologies open-source make them more or less safe?

Nothing about this printer is copyrighted and anyone can build their own RepRap by downloading free instructions from one of many free websites.

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tile 16

Solitude City

In Victorian England, privacy was highly valued. Only the very rich were able to close their bedroom door to strangers. Most people lived in constant proximity to one another.

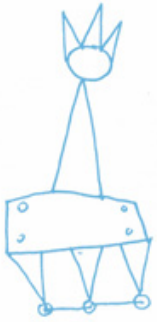
An upper-class Victorian mansion hid the lives of its inhabitants behind heavy curtains and thick walls. Everything from flower vases to table legs was draped in fabric. It was a private fortress, and gaining entry to it was no easy matter.

The occupants themselves were also separated from each other—each had their own private room, even spouses. The corridor system, which emerged during the Victorian era, was new to Europe. In this system, work was separated from home life, the rich from the poor, spouses from each other, and children from their parents.

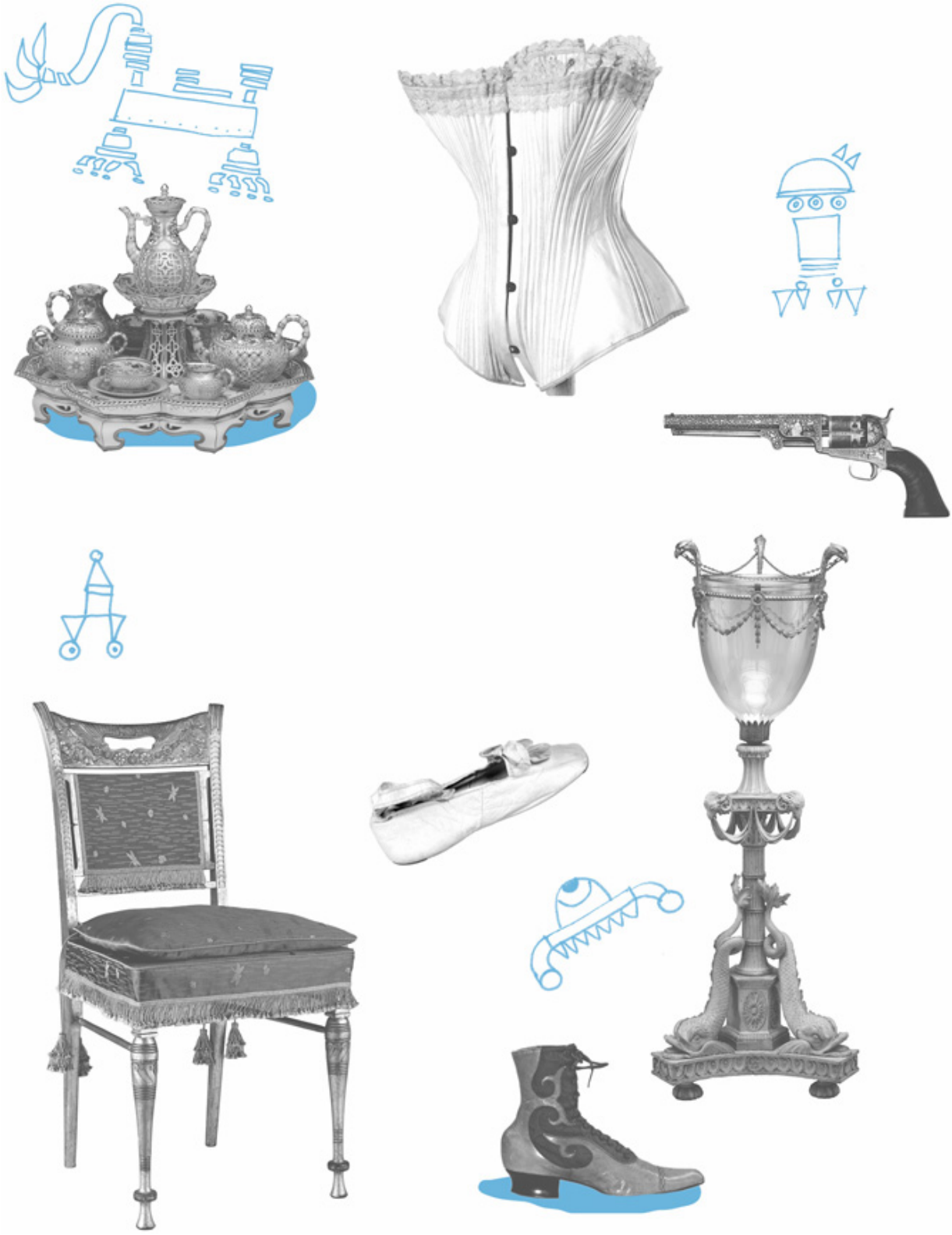
An important part of the Victorian home was the living room, hidden in the depths of the dwelling and accessible only to the chosen few: family members and selected guests. It was decorated with portraits of the relatives, textiles, books, and colonial souvenirs, such as Chinese porcelain and Indian statuettes. Homeowners were willing to surrender some living space for the sake of making an impression on the right kind of guests in order to improve their social prospects.

London was one of the first cities in the world to industrialize, and once the transformation was underway, it quickly became dirty, smelly, and crowded. The new industrial city also made cleanliness and privacy in the personal home a rare luxury available only to the urban elite, though one likely desired and sought-after by every citizen.

The home of a wealthy Londoner at the time of Queen Victoria was filled with incredible objects: outlandish tableware, carved furniture, and wonderful decorations.



The British Museum is a display of treasures brought in from all over the world: from Chinese sets to Benin art bronzes to Greek and Egyptian art.



When privacy is a luxury, luxurious surroundings are a must.

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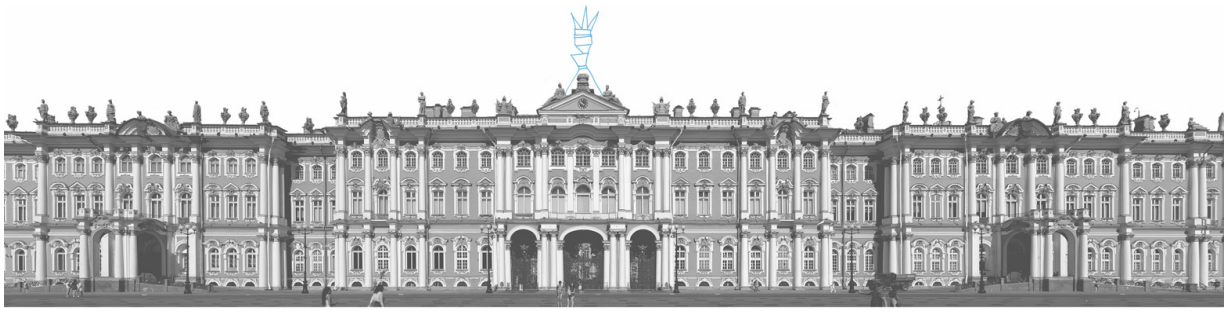
tile 17

One-Man City

A hermitage is a place of solitude. It is also the name of a palace in Saint Petersburg that houses a giant collection of art and is so vast that it could itself be considered a city.



It was run by a large staff but it was not run for the staff: it was run for the one resident, the emperor. The staff might as well have been replaced by robots.

‘Celebration’ is a private city of several thousand residents built by the Walt Disney Company in Florida. Disney promised it's citizen-customers a happy life in a perfect community with no crime or poverty, featuring low-rise buildings, pedestrian-friendly streets, stores, and great schools.

Disney said this city was an experimental prototype for the community of tomorrow, a model American city.

Sam Chermayeff

“The only place where I feel alone in a modern city is the street. There I don't know anyone and nobody knows me. As soon as I find myself at home I immediately engage with my social networks—I post on Facebook or Twitter; I write comments, to which somebody immediately responds. So I become a public persona at home. In the past, it was the other way around: going out onto the street of a small town or village, one would immediately meet acquaintances—the baker, the postman— and find oneself in a public space, and only seek solitude at home.”

Living in a modern big city does not necessarily spare urban dwellers from loneliness.

By gaining control over all aspects of local life, including taxes and services, Disney built a private company town. It appealed to the nostalgic myth of “real America,” but today the city experiences crime, governance problems, and individual tragedies.

Another city of dreams is now deserted. In the 1880s, the town of Buford, Wyoming had about two thousand residents employed in building one of the largest railroads in the United States. Since then, Buford has changed a lot. For years its roadside entry sign read “Population: 1.” The only resident, who went by the name of Dan, was also the official mayor of Buford,, the operator of its only gas station, and the owner of its grocery and hardware store. Passing truckers often

entered the town's only occupied home to drag the mayor out of bed and have him fill up their trucks. Then Dan moved away and the city was purchased by a Vietnamese investor. Will people come back to Buford?

Would you like to be the lone resident of a stunning city run by robots, where the only thing missing is human companionship?

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tile 18

Ghost Town

They avoid meetings with strangers. They know when to pack their bags and disappear without a trace. They also return home quickly and unnoticed.

There are different means of resistance. What if a defender never even meets their attacker, skillfully avoiding any contact with them?

Most of the cities of the Inca Empire were destroyed during the Spanish conquest. The city of Machu Picchu was neither conquered by the Spanish Conquistadors, but was abandoned by the inhabitants around the same time the Spaniards attacked the Inca Empire. And yet, inhabitants of Machu Picchu never fought them.

It is one of the best preserved Inca cities and a true mystery.

We know from archaeological evidence that Machu Picchu was a highly organized and developed society. There were temples all over the city, elaborate terraces for intensive farming for which the city's engineers

created an amazing water drainage system, and their artisans worked in specialized workshops. Their kings lived in incredibly beautiful palaces.

After all, nobody would be able to claim victory if there were no interaction, let alone battle. What do you think?

Some believe that hostilities in the hidden place in the mountains, where the city was located, made it impossible to sustain life and that is why its inhabitants left. Others believe that the Incas so skillfully concealed the roads leading up to the city that the Spaniards never found them, leaving the sudden exodus an unexplained mystery.

Some think that disease and war made it impossible to maintain the city, located high in the mountains. Others believe that the Incas hid the roads leading to the city, making it impossible for the Spaniards to find it.

1
Numerous temples and ceremonial rocks across Machu Picchu used to worship Inca Gods.

2
The Main Temple was located at the Sacred Plaza.

3
Religious celebrations were hosted at the Main Plaza, which separates the ceremonial section from the residential and industrial areas.

4
The Royal Palace is located in the sacred district near the main water source, the Temple of the Sun, and the royal tomb.

5
The factory houses used by workers for weaving and pottery.

6
The area near the Condor Temple is believed to have been a prison sector.

7
Administrators, priests, and craftsmen lived in the residential sector.

8
Wide steps extend into agricultural land, while also protecting the city from landslides.

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tile 19

A City of Runners

The people who live in this city believe that real life is all about constant competition.

The people in a city of runners find it fascinating or even necessary to keep track of who among them is more important, who is richer, smarter, more beautiful, or more worthy. There are many ideas about how the city came to have habits like this. One of the city's revered philosophers, Thomas Hobbes, believed that the natural state of human beings is to seek violent domination over their neighbors, and that society, without the authority of the Sovereign, would quickly turn into a battle of all against all. Constant competition between people is thus seen as an enjoyable game as compared with real war, which is always lurking around the corner.

Naturally, in cities like this, there must be some who are poor, ugly, and unhappy. Just as in some childrens' games, there are winners and losers.

New York, New York I want to wake up in a city That never sleeps And find I'm A number one Top of the list King of the hill.

Frank Sinatra

People living in the city of runners foster in their kids an admiration for winners, and an ambition to surpass their peers in all areas. Children in the city of runners have no interest in learning together, sharing, or mutual aid. Helping someone pass an exam is considered “cheating” and is strictly punished. All their lives, adults are engaged in constant competition over beauty, skill, and wealth.

Runners believe that people who live differently than them, who refuse to play their games, simply choose to be losers.

During the 1968 student unrest in Western countries, some disaffected young people eagerly abandoned the big cities for the “sleepy” provinces, where they created autonomous settlements, many of which still exist today.

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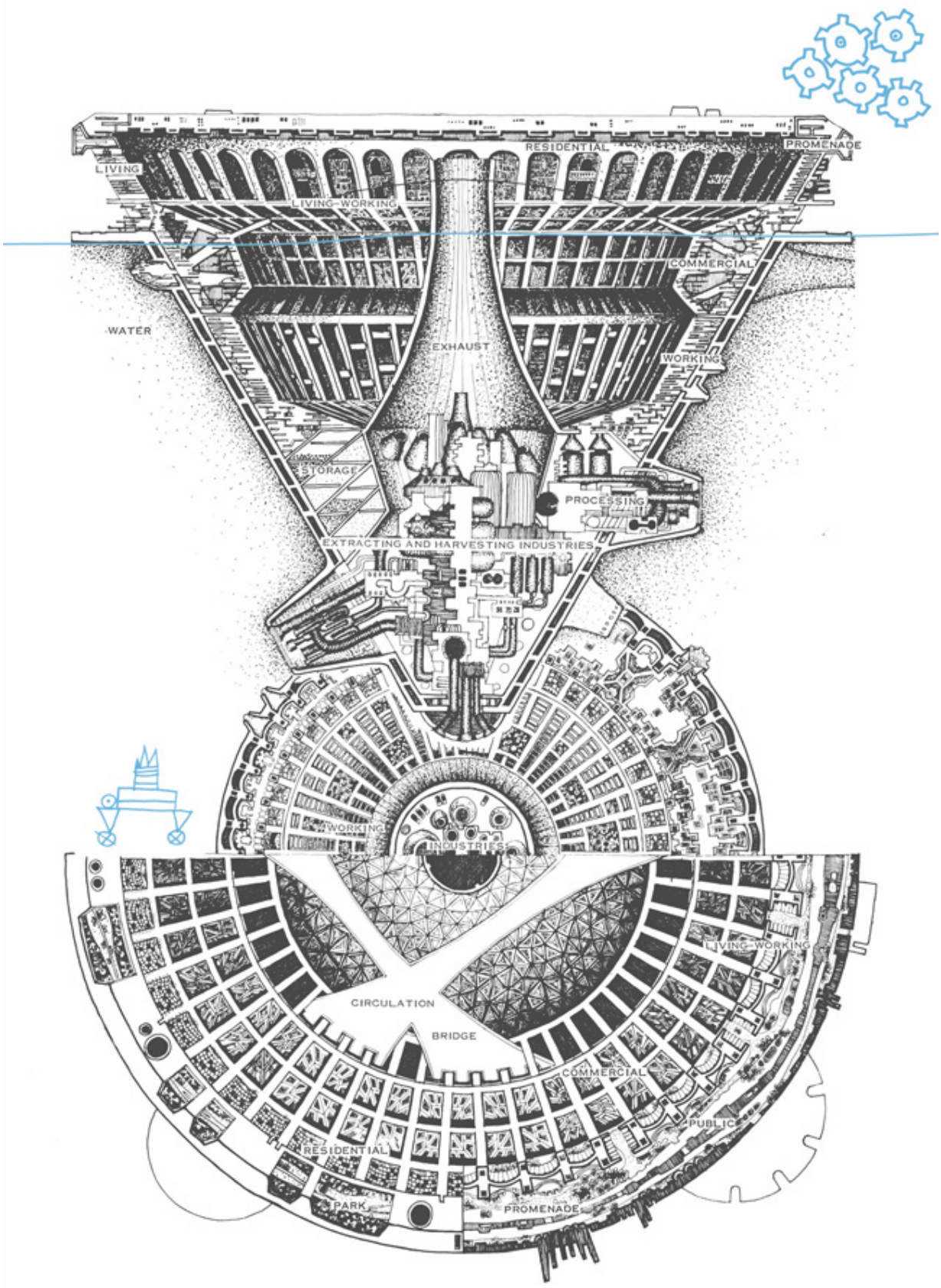
tile 20

Underground City

Living in an underground city could be safe and convenient. Without weather, there's no risk of storms. And no trees means no forest fires.

Underground cities have been around practically forever. The city of Derinkuyu in the Turkish province of Cappadocia, for example, was built between 2000 and 1000 BCE. The landscape of volcanic tuff—a unique soft stone—could be hollowed out without requiring complex tools, making room to house twenty thousand people. The underground city boasted a stable, corrals, churches, schools, canteens, bakeries, barns, wine cellars, and workshops. The intricate system of tunnels connecting it all together meant that intruders would not know their way around and quickly get lost.

Tunnels are found underneath many cities. Rome is famous for its catacombs, and at one time subterranean burial chambers were commonplace. These days they tend to be for underground trains called subways. In Beijing the residents became so fearful of nuclear war they built an entire bunker city, with thirty kilometers of tunnels connecting underground houses, schools, hospitals, shops, libraries, theaters, and factories. There's even an underground roller skating rink!


RESIDENTIAL
PROMENADE
LIVING
LIVING–WORKING
COMMERCIAL
WATER
EXHAUST
WORKING
STORAGE
PROCESSING
EXTRACTING AND HARVESTING INDUSTRIES
WORKING
INDUSTRIES
LIVING–WORKING
CIRCULATION
BRIDGE
COMMERCIAL
PUBLIC
RESIDENTIAL
PARK
PROMENADE

Mexico City has not gone as far as to build an entire city underground, but architect Esteban Suarez is planning an underground apartment building. And what a building it will be! Piercing the center of the Mexican capital with its tip will be a sixty-five-story pyramid—no wonder they call it the earth-scraper. The glass-enclosed area above the surface will be for recreation and outdoor concerts. Underground, the building will be heated and powered with geothermal energy, making the pyramid energy self-sufficient.

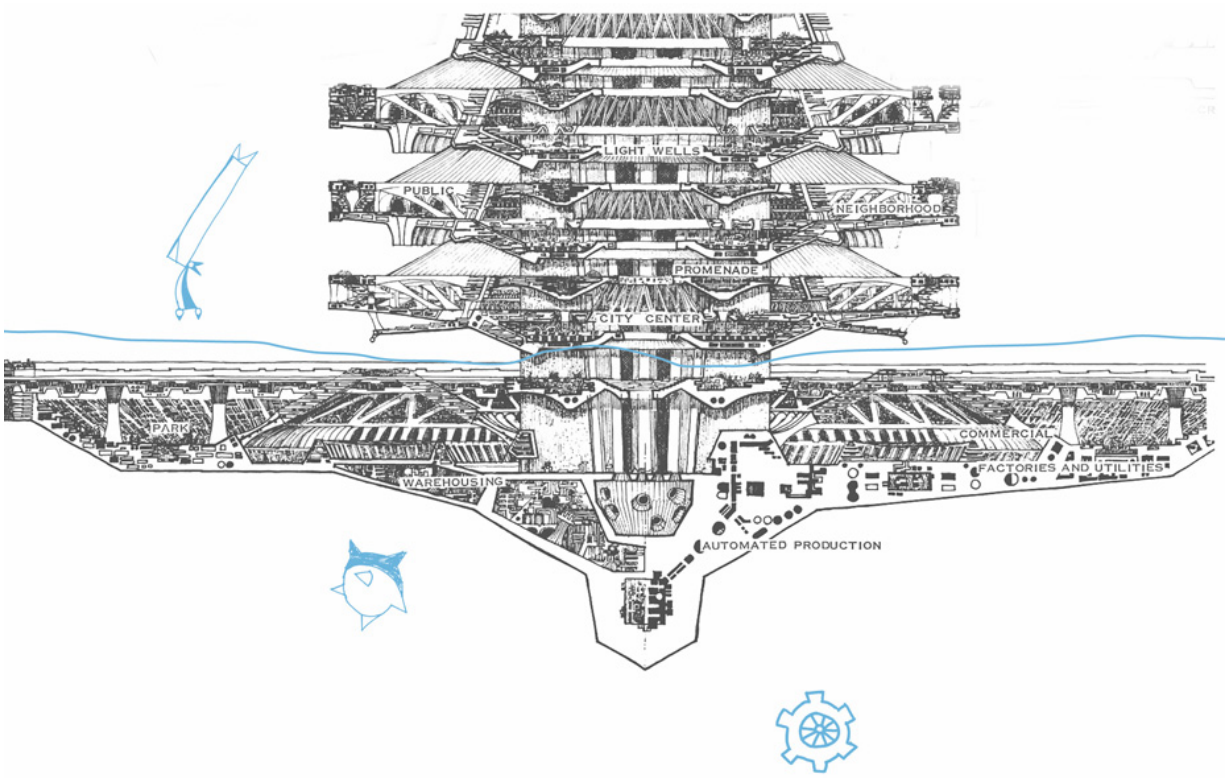
It's not easy building downward into the earth, but building underground won't disrupt the historical landscape of the city. And it evades the city's building codes restricting the height of structures to eight floors.

The city of Mirny in the Russian far north has its eye on an abandoned diamond mine as the site for an underground city. There are no more diamonds to be found, but its abandonment threatens neighboring villages with cave-ins and landslides. Moscow architect Nikolai Lyutomsky has proposed a solution: building a strong concrete skeleton inside the quarry to strengthen its walls while covering its top with a transparent dome, resulting in an underground ecocity fit for ten thousand people. Yakutiya has a harsh arctic climate with temperatures reaching as low as -60 °C in the winter. But underground, the temperature never falls below zero. The quarry would thus be good for both people and plants. Its architects have allocated most of the city's inner space to vertical farms.

Farms for food production, technical laboratories, factories, and research centers are located underground and, aboveground, there will be play centers and schools. Moving between the underground and the surface is quick and easy.

Going underground to avoid possible misfortunes might seem like a good idea, but there's a catch: if you don't like the rules of your community, it's tough to get out.

How important is it to be able to easily leave one community whose rules no longer suit you and join a different one?



1. Water source.
2. Urban farm.
3. Protective structures.
4. Bomb shelter.
5. Schools, museums.
6. Hospitals.

7. Theaters and cinemas.

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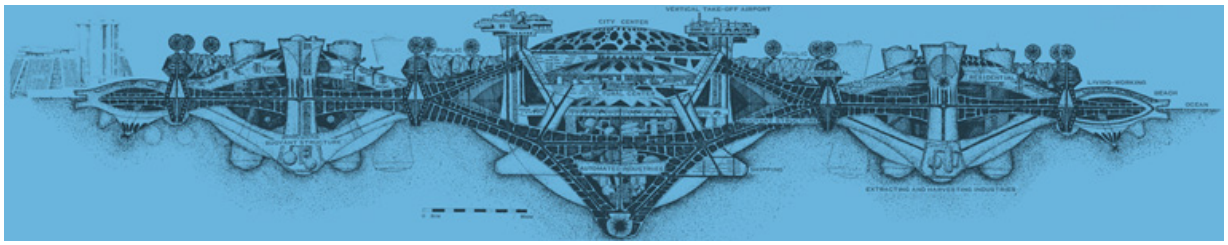
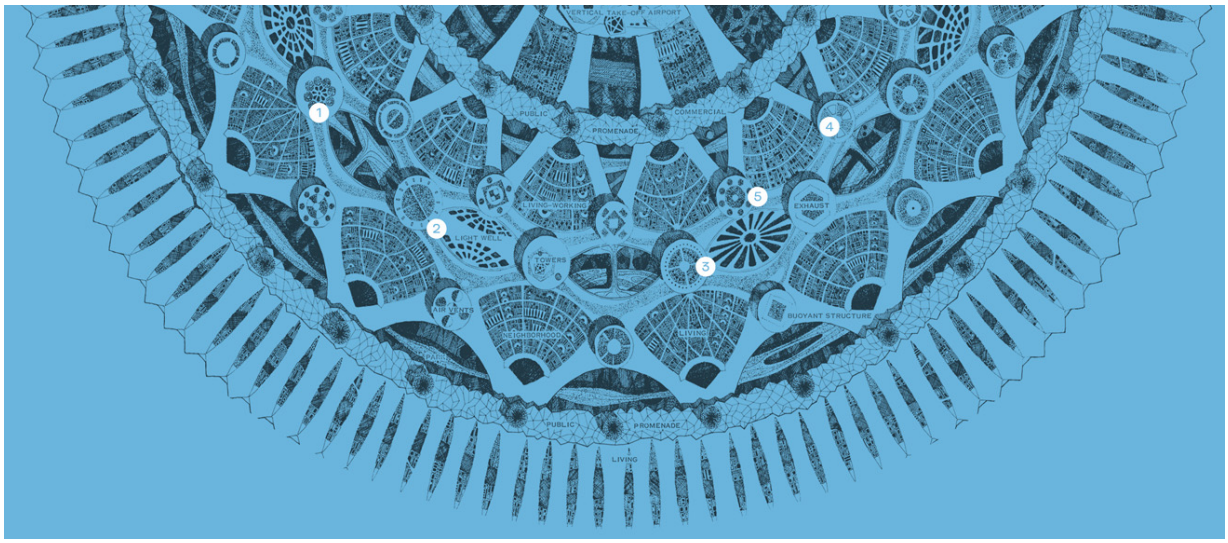
tile 21

City in the Ocean

Unlike an underground bunker, a floating city is vulnerable to adverse weather, but it is a difficult target to attack!



Many cities were founded by refugees who settled on empty and almost inaccessible land.



1
A mobile fortress whose inhabitants may sail into and out of the main city anytime they like.

2
Around the Main Fortress, there are ships that can be used to live on and for travel between the individual island cities.

3
Small houses on the largest island.

4
Underwater canals that connect the island towns to each other.

5
Military platform protecting the islands from possible invasion.

Main tower: Here, representatives of all the island towns discuss collective issues.

Peter Thiel, along with several other American billionaires, founded an institute to build independent cities at sea. These artificial islands were to be located in international waters and thus not subject to any nation's laws.

Autonomous republics are able to grow their own food, produce renewable energy, and are equipped with scientific and medical laboratories.

These floating cities could house more than a thousand people, following the American tradition of commercial cities like Walt Disney's city, Celebration.

Similar to Krutikov's flying cities, floating islands can be connected or disconnected at will, preserving the unity of the whole and the autonomy of the parts.

There are many versions of this idea. Pirate ships of the 18th century also formed similar communities. Krutikov's communist project was intended to benefit all mankind and save nature from industrial destruction.

Commercial cities plan to sell places on the floating islands to those who have the means to pay for it.

Speaking of pirate ships

The pirate ships and settlements of the Golden Age of Piracy resemble the floating republic cities.

Each ship during the Golden Era of Piracy was essentially modeled after a factory with an elaborate organization of labor strictly controlled from above. It makes them notably similar to the military cities from chapter 4 on Cities of Fighters.

The life that sailors could expect serving on an imperial navy vessel was harsh: corporal punishment, occasional starvation, endless hard work, and strict discipline. In fact, most sailors did not join the Navy voluntarily but were conscripted into naval service by their king. It comes as no surprise, then, that ship mutinies occurred regularly. Even with mutiny punishable by death, commandeering the ship and

raising a pirate flag didn't seem like such a bad idea to mutineers. A free life is worth living, no matter how short.

Unlike conscripted sailors, pirates chose their own captains and took part in decision-making aboard their ships. Pirates obeyed their captain only during combat. Otherwise, their lives resembled those of the free Greeks who Montesquieu famously described as “all pirates.” They created their own rules and governed themselves. Pirates were even known to have collected welfare funds for their wounded comrades and to have provided for the families of crewmembers killed in action.

The history of piracy is shrouded in gruesome and terrifying legends. One could even say that the pirates themselves leaned into these tales, exaggerating to great effect their ferocity on the high seas. Yet aboard their ships, they seemed to have conducted their affairs through more enlightened means, with conversation, deliberation, and debate.

Pirate settlements, such as Sainte-Marie and especially Ambonavola, seem to have been self-conscious attempts to reproduce the democracy of pirate ships on land. Because most outsiders feared intruding upon the legendary Pirate Kingdom, few ever came close enough to see that the people living in these settlements were ruling themselves without kings, decades before the American Revolution.

David Graeber

“The word ‘utopia’ first calls to mind the image of an ideal city, usually with perfect geometry. The image seems to hearken back originally to the royal military camp: a geometrical space that is entirely the emanation of a single, individual will, a fantasy of total control.”

Perhaps this city on the ocean, which describes communism for the rich, where citizenship is for sale, recall other utopias (see the chapter Cities of Fighters). After all, such cities would have to be guarded against the poor, who can't afford to live in utopias.

Unlike them, the pirate communities of the 18th century were fluid and ever-changing structures, more akin to Krutikov's Communist project of Flying Cities than to a strictly organized army settlement.

Pirates were portrayed as horrible criminals who violated all norms of human behavior, who engaged in drunkenness, murder, robbery, and all sorts of immorality. Most pirates’ lives ended at the imperial gallows, and only very few of them ever got to retire. The story of one such settlement, a Mock Pirate kingdom in Madagascar, is described in David Graeber's *Pirate Enlightenment*.

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tile 22

City of Punishment

Some citizens make the rules, and the rest must obey. Whoever disobeys deserves to be punished!

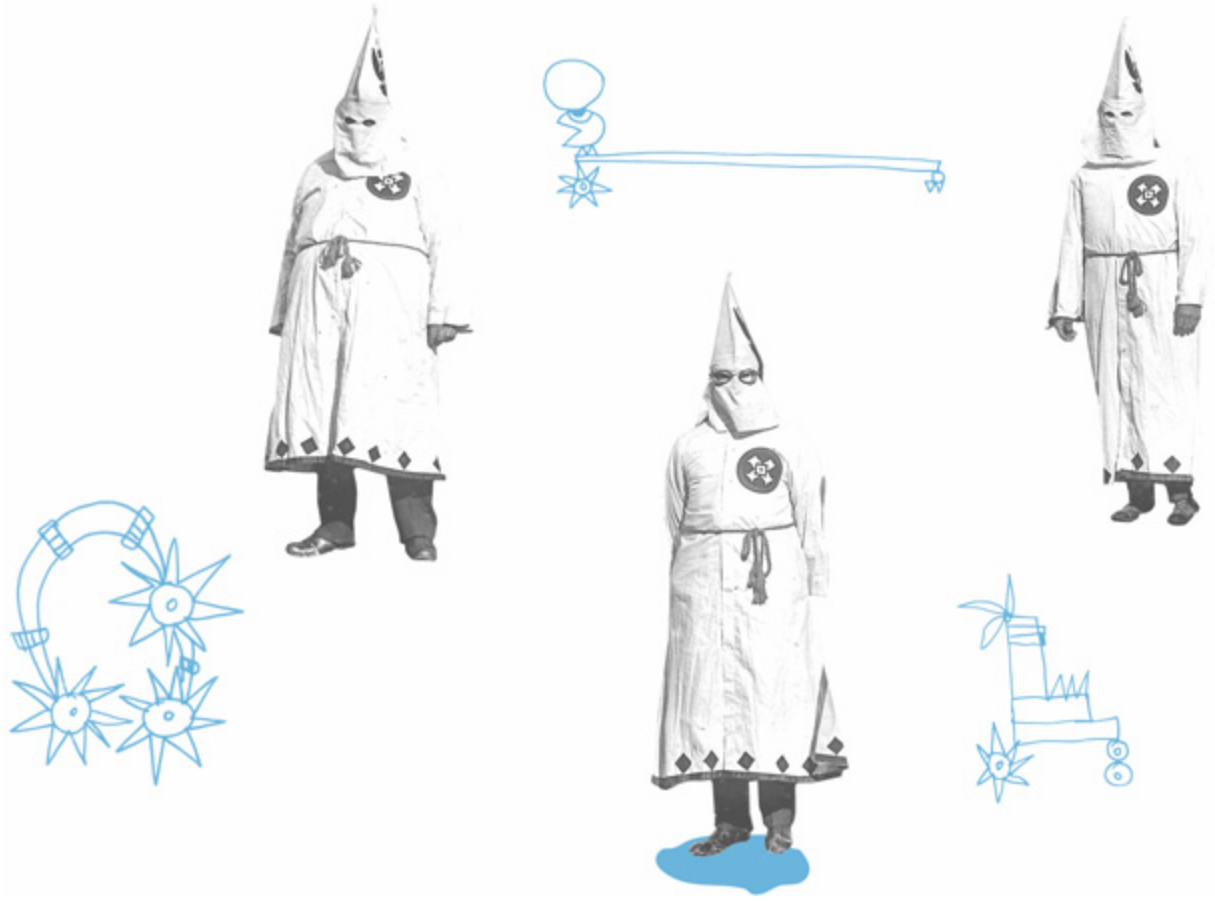
At the core of any game, including those that are dangerous or somewhat cruel, is the ability to stop or even to run away. Imagine being trapped in a game you can't leave!

Ready or not, here I come!

Imagine a game of hide-and-seek that cannot be stopped if the players get tired or bored. This would evidently be a terrible dystopia. Perhaps the first rule for any game should be the option to quit or to rewrite the rules.

The Ku Klux Klan is an American hate group fighting to advance what they see as the genetic superiority of the white race. Members of the Ku Klux Klan sent orange pips, or seeds, anonymously to their enemies, who included Blacks, Jews, communists, and anyone else they disagreed with or disliked. Whoever received such a warning had to renounce their views or run away;

otherwise, they could be killed. KKK members dressed in white robes and pointy hoods. In these uniforms, they resembled the ghosts of fallen Confederate soldiers who fought in the Civil War for the slaveholding South. White robes helped members of the Ku Klux Klan intimidate others while concealing their identities. Precisely because of the widespread domestic terror carried out by the KKK, some U.S. states still prohibit the wearing of masks in public places.



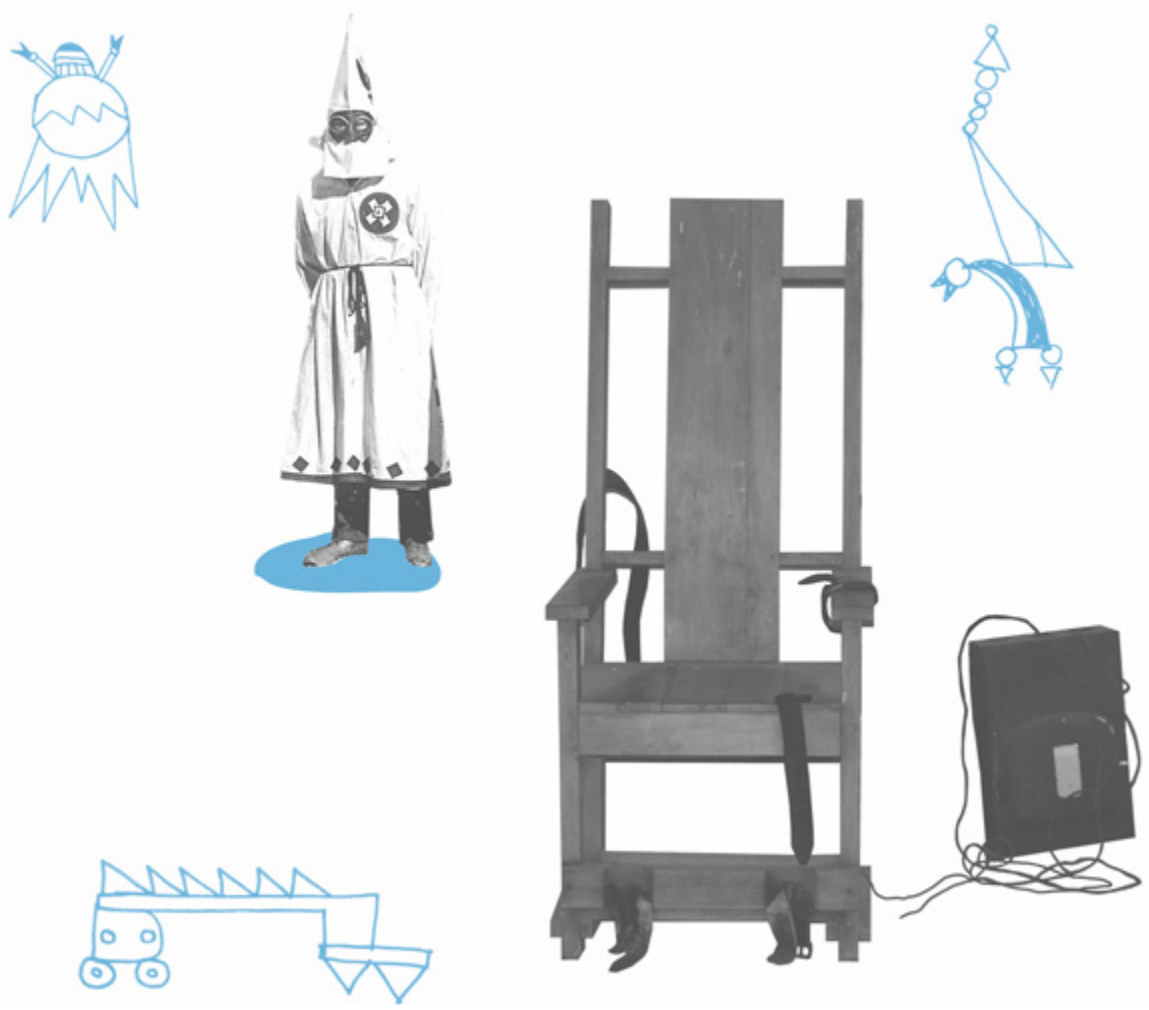
Imagine play without rules. Would it be fun? Could we even call it

play? How would it be different from everyday life?

David Graeber

“Violence is so often the preferred weapon of the stupid. One might even call it the trump card of the stupid, since (and this is surely one of the tragedies of human existence) it is the one form of stupidity to which it is most difficult to come up with an intelligent response.”

Who would want to play a game where you have to follow orders that no one chose, no one likes, and that cannot be changed?



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tile 23

Trash City

Imagine that you, your friends, and your family all live on top of a giant garbage dump. Whatever you do—playing, swimming, washing, gardening, or even having a birthday party—you are always surrounded by mounds of garbage.

Your job is to sort through the garbage, pulling out anything that can be used or recycled. The garbage sorting is mainly done by women and children, while men carry in sacks of rubbish from the outside or talk with visitors from other cities who bring their garbage to the dump and buy the useful things they find.

On the outskirts of Cairo, there is an area known as Garbage City. The Egyptians who live there have a dirty job: they sort through all the city's trash produced every day by over 20 million people. Families work there, the young and the old, picking out everything that has any value. Many of these urban scavengers were once rural peasants who could find no other work in the city. On the first floors of the unfinished and dilapidated brick houses that make up Garbage City, people are hard at work sorting and packaging waste while their living quarters are on the floors above. Streets, yards, and even rooftops are all filled up with garbage. Everything stinks. But this stench does not prevent normal city life—here children play, adults smoke hookah pipes in cafes, and street vendors sell fruit and freshly baked bread.

Some people's trash is other people's treasure! People throw out things that can be used to generate energy, build houses, and even make works of art.

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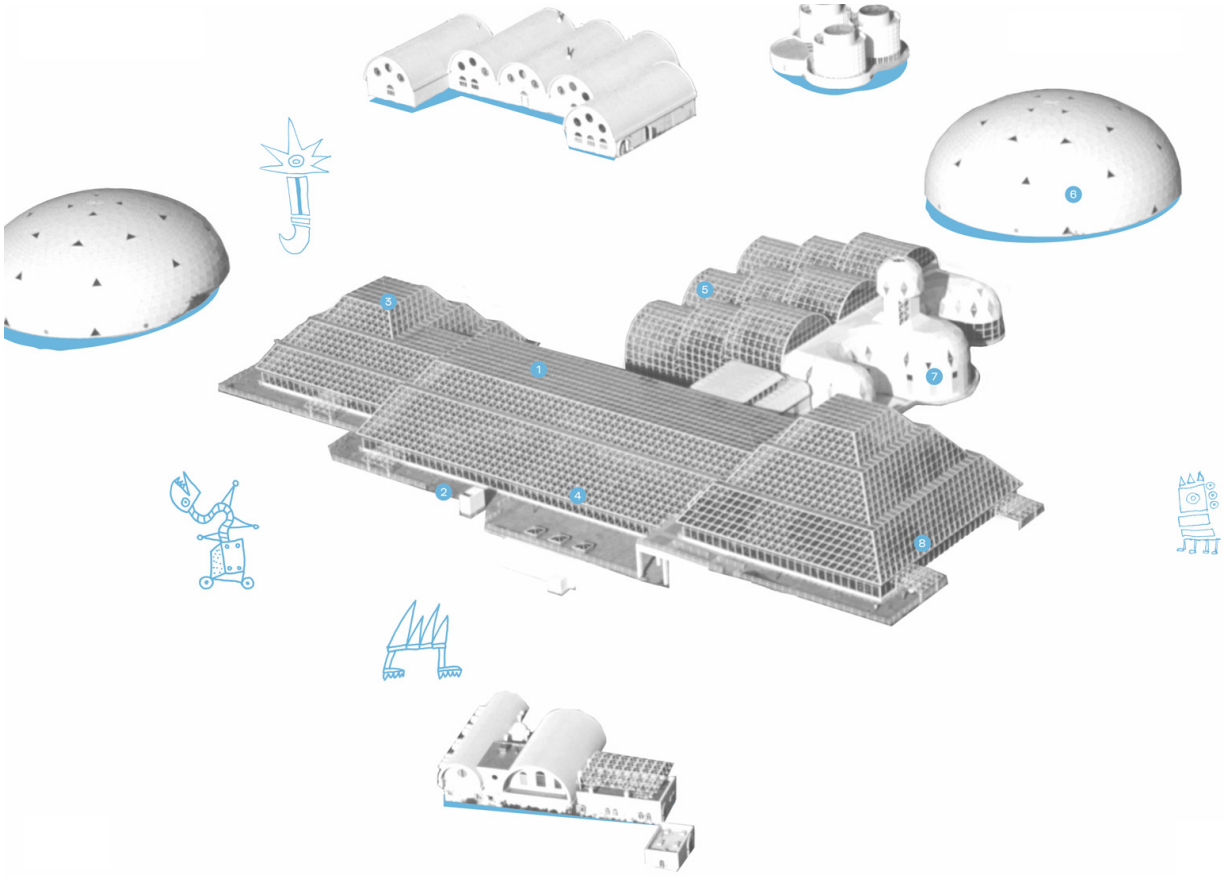
tile 24

Noah's Ark

In this city, everything that exists on Earth is nearby: gardens, forests, birds, fish, leopards, and pet dogs.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

1. A savanna biome serving as a middle area between the desert and rainforest that helps to balance the atmosphere by adjusting water levels.
2. Marshes and forested swamps dominated by mangrove trees.
3. A desert biome designed to simulate a coastal climate with erratic winter rainfall and summer drought.
4. A research ocean with approximately 2.6 million liters of water, simulating a Caribbean reef environment with fish, algae, and various invertebrate species.
5. An agroforestry zone to provide inhabitants with vegetables, crops, and beans.
6. “Lungs” control air pressure inside the biosphere. There's also a water collection tank.
7. A habitat with private apartments, laboratories, a common kitchen, and other facilities.
8. The rainforest in Biosphere 2 housed over 400 plant species.

Imagine that in this giant building, there is a coral reef populated with fish, a jungle for monkeys and birds, fields for grain and vegetables, and complex machines for generating heat and cleaning the air. People must learn to live within this structure just as they now live on Earth.

A team of scientists built a self-contained city where they live in peace and harmony. They never need to go outside because there's nothing beyond the walls that they don't already have inside.

Biosphere 2 was a grand experiment in the Arizona desert: a glass-domed complex containing an ultra-

modern farm, an avant-garde residential house, and five ecological biomes: jungle, savanna, desert, mangrove forest, and a small ocean complete with a beach and coral reef. People, goats, pigs, chickens, and over three thousand other animal species all lived there. This “ark” was designed to function autonomously for two years, with people living on the produce grown inside the biosphere, breathing oxygen produced by its plants, and recycling its water–a sort of a miniature planet. Eight volunteers—four men and four women—planned to spend their days performing manual labor, taking meals together, playing music in their spare time, and, most importantly, conducting scientific research.

The birthplace of closed system theory was the USSR. In the biophysics laboratory of Krasnoyarsk during the 1960s, scientists experimented with human subjects living autonomously in chambers cut off from the outside world except for their supply of oxygen. In the middle of the last century, mankind believed that very soon we would go into space. For life on other planets and during long space flights to be viable, life support technology within completely enclosed systems was a necessity.

There is something divine about designing a city that is so self-sufficient that inhabitants never have to leave it.

Scientists at Biosphere 2 ultimately lost control of their system. Microorganisms, ants, and other insects multiplied, depleting oxygen levels and threatening food production. Before its completion, the experiment was terminated. Nevertheless, the dream of building a closed system has been carried on by Chinese

scientists who claim they can sustain human life in systems almost entirely closed to the outside world.

Was the project a success? On September 26, 1993, when the facility was officially depressurized, letting out the volunteers inside, their faces indicated that the experiment had failed. Despite all of its clever design, the biosphere had ultimately been proven uninhabitable. Today, Biosphere 2 serves as a testament to how unsuccessful humanity has been in trying to reproduce the Earth's delicate biosphere, and thus a reminder of how important it is to preserve our natural environment.

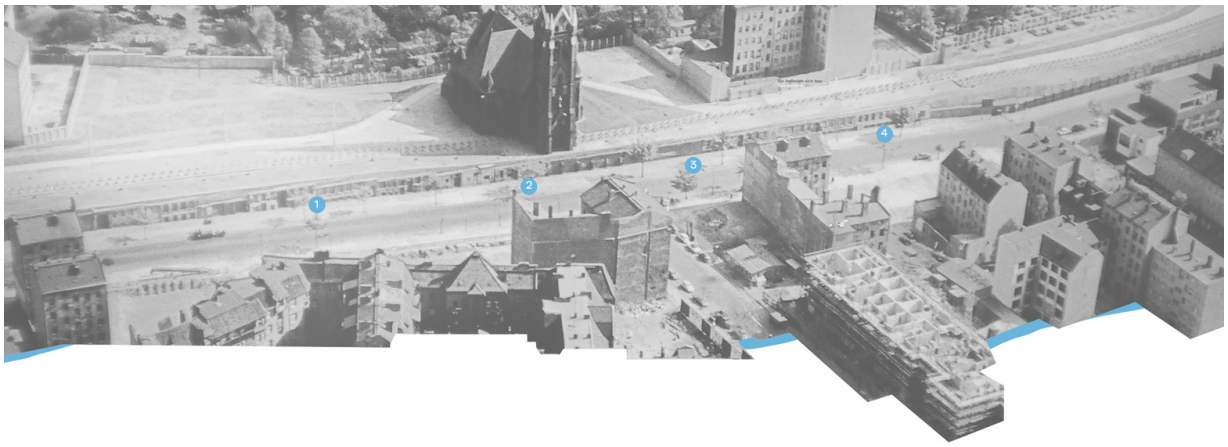
there is no
Planet B

OceanofPDF.com

tile 25

Model City

This city was designed and built to show everyone just how beautiful, fair, and comfortable life can really be! This model city seems to say: “Look at me! Why are you still not living like this? Join us or build yourself a city like ours!”



1

A signal fence with barbed wire.

2

A bed of nails was placed in front of the fences.

3

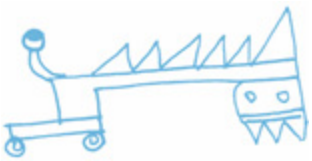
The fourth generation of fortification that separated East and West Berlin, known as the death strip, was 43 kilometers long and up to 150 meters wide. This three-meter-high concrete wall kept the citizens of East Berlin from escaping.

4

A belt of sand- or gravel-covered land allowed the guards with attack dogs to track down refugees by following their footprints.

After the Second World War, Germany's capital was divided between the USSR and the Western allies. East Berlin was the capital of the Soviet half, whereas West Berlin became a bastion of capitalism located in the heart of Socialist East Germany. West Berlin became a major industrialized center with developed commerce, a smooth-operating banking system, and an excellent service industry. The city's model economy soon rivaled those in other developed countries less affected by the war, such as Finland, Denmark, Portugal, and Turkey. West Berlin housed about 180 research centers, 35 museums, and 18 theaters. The Symphony Orchestra directed by Herbert von Karajan enjoyed world renown. It hosted

international fairs, exhibitions, and conventions of all kinds. The only thing missing was an army.



GDR residents clearly appreciated the success of West Berlin. By the 1960s, one in seven people from East Germany had escaped to the West. To stop this Western defection, the Soviet government erected the Berlin Wall.

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tile 26

City Under Siege

War changes society. Sometimes, its outcome is the advent of an even harsher regime than what came before. Yet, at the same time, a deadly threat sometimes leads to cooperation that can liberate a society from within.

Many cities in history have been bombed, attacked, and ravaged. How do people live when attacks continue for years; when it seems that normalcy is all but extinct? Here, we take a look at the autonomous territory of Northern Syria or Rojava.

Despite being surrounded by deadly enemies, Rojava provides the world with an example of an incredible democratic experiment.

Popular assemblies, in councils carefully selected for cultural balance, are responsible for decision making. In each municipality, for instance, the top three officers must include one Kurd, one Arab, one Assyrian or Armenian Christian, and at least one of the three must be a woman. There are also women's and youth councils. And echoing the armed Mujeres Libres (Free Women) of Spain, they are defended by a feminist

army, the “YJA Star” militia. The “Union of Free Women” is symbolized by a star representing the ancient Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar. This woman-led army has carried out a large proportion of the Kurdish combat operations against the forces of Islamic State.

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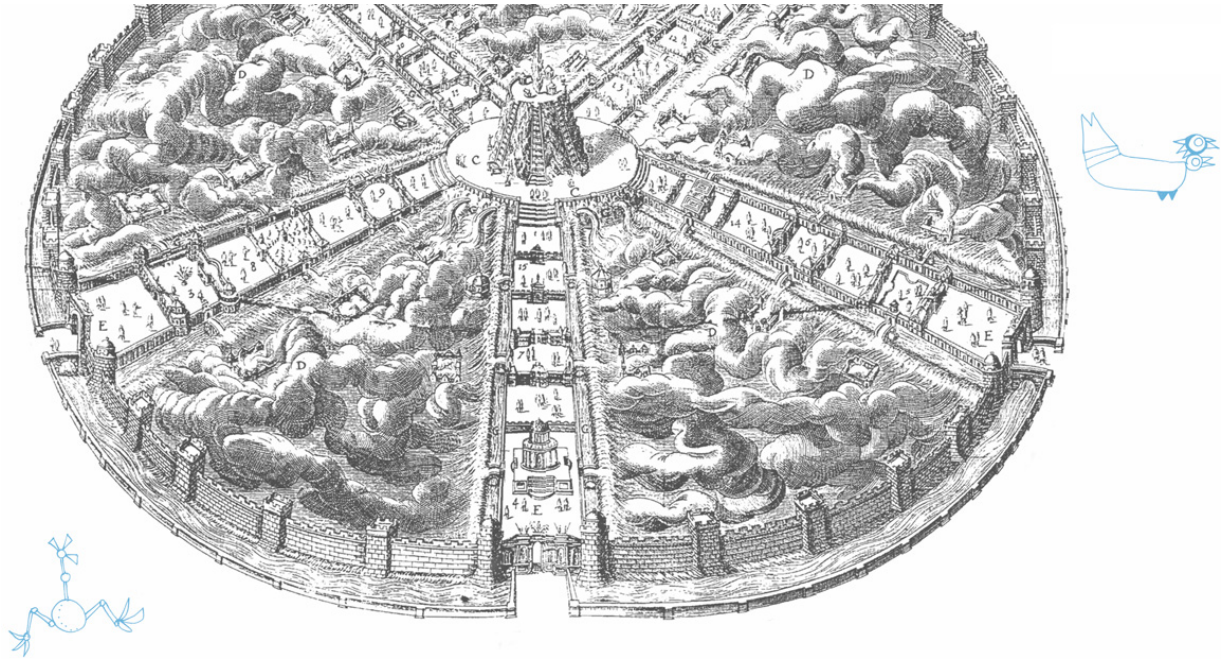
tile 27

Sun City

Magicians, astrologers, and scientists rule this city that many consider an elusive utopia.



The most intimate feelings, such as affection between parents and children, are forbidden here.

In the seventeenth century, Tommaso Campanello described a utopian society governed by the magical wisdom of great men.

Do you think the government should be able to regulate who falls in love with whom? What should the government regulate anyway?

The Sun City seems attractive: a peaceful society living in harmony with nature, where everyone works, but only four hours a day; where manual and intellectual labor are equally valued; where there is no greed or crime; where the city is turned into a giant museum-book; where every child has access to all human knowledge just by walking the streets of the city.

What could be better?

Yet, isn't it similar to the militaristic utopia of the Roman cities, or even the world of *The Matrix*, with the same patriarchal high command, centralized laws, strict rules, and, ultimately, organized violence applied against dissenters?

What about those citizens who don't agree with the rules of the city and would like to change them?

All private, uncontrollable human feelings such as compassion and personal affection are criminalized, said to be detrimental to the central plan. Individuality,

even individual feelings, threaten those in power. Whatever cannot be controlled must be eliminated.

In Campanella's time, European colonizers conquered what they called the “New World,” subjugating it beneath an iron fist to the only “true law”—their law. In their wake, they left entire continents destroyed and enslaved.

The magicians, astrologers, and scientists of Sun City were convinced that they knew of the one true way of life that would make all people happy and become a model for all mankind. Would you want to live in this new and better world?

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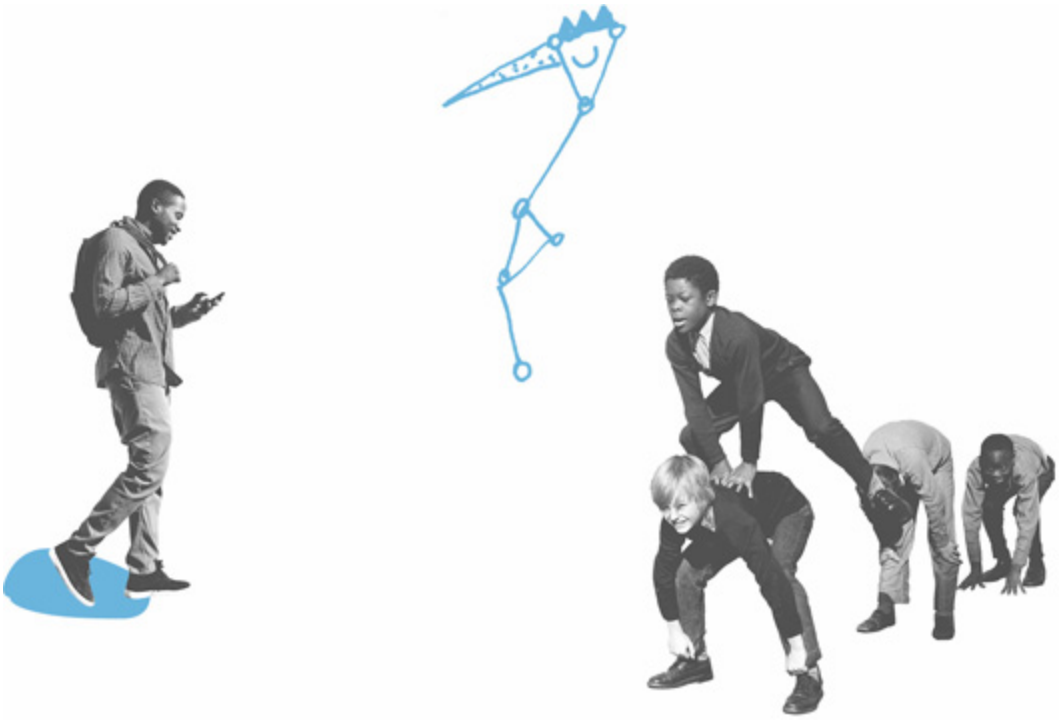
tile 28

School City

Every human society has a notion of what knowledge is and how to pass it on from generation to generation. European universities have come to unexpected conclusions about the nature of knowledge and its reproduction.



There are many ways of sharing knowledge. Here we would like to reflect on the role of medieval monasteries in laying the foundation for modern universities.

Many things in our lives that seem unchanging–such as the existence of everlasting commercial entities that build houses, own banks, and even run entire cities like Disney World–originated in monasteries.

Corporations are really a rather bizarre idea: They are not just charming legal fictions, but treated legally as persons, with rights and privileges just like human beings. At the same time, they are also immortal, never having to go through all the human untidiness of marriage, reproduction, infirmity, and death. To put it in proper medieval terms, they are very much like angels.

Walt Disney created a corporation named after himself which has a truly royal fortune of hundreds of billions of dollars. It continued to grow beyond his lifetime by selling rights to the image of Mickey Mouse and other cartoon characters, creating new cartoons, and running Disney World, among other operations.

Thus, sort of like the Disney corporation, another astonishing idea that we have inherited from monastic times is the image of the divinely inspired genius: the isolated, self-sufficient, rational, self-reflexive intellectual who who would be better described as an angelic corporation than as an ordinary, mortal human.

This seems to have happened to Western philosophical tradition after it moved from the monastery to the university, conceiving of itself as something other than a form of religious practice and

operating on a much grander scale. As a result, even after they abandoned the monastery, scholars maintained what was essentially a monastic self.

In school cities, just like in monasteries, residents are separated and detached from the rest of the world.

Solitude and detachment from the world.

1
A violent riot between townsmen and students started here in 1355. As a result, the university gained many economic privileges, and the city authorities had to pray and pay for the students killed every year.

2
Oxford University Press printed one of the first books at the very dawn of printing history in the late 15th century. Now, it is the largest university press in the world.

3
The University Church of St Mary the Virgin housed many university functions in its early history, including its first dedicated treasury, court, and library.

4
One of the oldest libraries in Europe began as a room in a church and grew into a network of 28 libraries with over 13 million printed items.

5
As members of the clergy, scholars were subject to the ecclesiastical court and not the regular city court. Some disputes involving scholars were resolved in the university court.

6
All of the doctors and masters of the university formed the convocation. This became the main governing body of the university.

7
In 1209, two Oxford students were hanged for killing a townswoman. To escape the still hostile townsmen, approximately 3000 scholars left the city and founded Cambridge University.

8
Oxford University consists of 44 independent and self-governing colleges dispersed throughout the city.

9
Academic halls provide accommodation for students that separate them from the townsfolk.

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tile 29

City of Care

How do we build a city where people can live meaningful and fascinating lives; where justice prevails over stupidity and wickedness? How do we build a city that welcomes all but also allows for the easy departure of those who object to its rules?

What is care anyway?
How do we want to be
cared for?

It is obvious that caring for human life, with all its various stages of birth, adolescence, education, and illness is the main priority of any city. Without people, a city is just buildings—an empty archaeological site or maybe an architectural exhibition. So cities are really about the people that live in them. Although, if you think about it, our modern cities don't seem to be built around care for people, but around work or shopping—or production and consumption.

The Chilean architect Alejandro Aravena has designed social housing neighborhoods with significantly reduced construction costs. One of Aravena's projects was on the site of the Quinta Monroy slums in the Chilean city of Iquique. The plan was to construct

houses that were halfway complete, for families to purchase at minimal cost and finish building according to their needs. By involving people in the creation of their own homes, the architect assists in cultivating and strengthening the relationship between the people and their space.

Care can be tender and loving, intrusive and insolent, or even dismissive and murderous. Prisons also care about their prisoners: they feed and house them. Yet is it possible to think about prisons as spaces of care?

This plan has allowed a hundred families to settle permanently on territory that they have “illegally” occupied for thirty years. The builders laid the foundation and the remaining common space between the houses was completed by the residents themselves, according to their budgets and aesthetic preferences. The city turned out very beautifully.

Just one year later, the houses in the area increased in value several times over, even so the residents were in no hurry to part with them.

Alejandro Aravena

“The city itself—it is a tool for improving the quality of life and spreading that quality to the majority of the planet's population. In a few years, about 70% of us will live in cities. In turn, the quality of life in the city is determined by what you can do there freely and for free. One of the main challenges of today is social inequality. And do not think that its root lies solely in the amount of annual income. Infrastructure, public spaces, social housing, transport systems—all these are unique opportunities to address inequality. And the more parks and other nice places there are in a city which everyone can enjoy without buying a ticket, the better the city and the higher the quality of life.”

Egalitarian cities have existed in human history for many thousands of years. What they have in common is an urban architecture built primarily to reproduce human life. Hence, communal housing serves as the foundation of these cities. Just as common is the lack of palaces and ritual institutions in the center of city life. Teotihuacán society was, for example, exceptionally egalitarian.

We know about such egalitarian cities as Teotihuacán, “mega-sites” found in Ukraine and Moldova, and the society of “rich farmers,” as archaeologist Rosemary Joyce calls a settlement found in Uruguay.

Where in egalitarian cities does social life take place if they don't have palaces and cathedrals in the middle of the city?

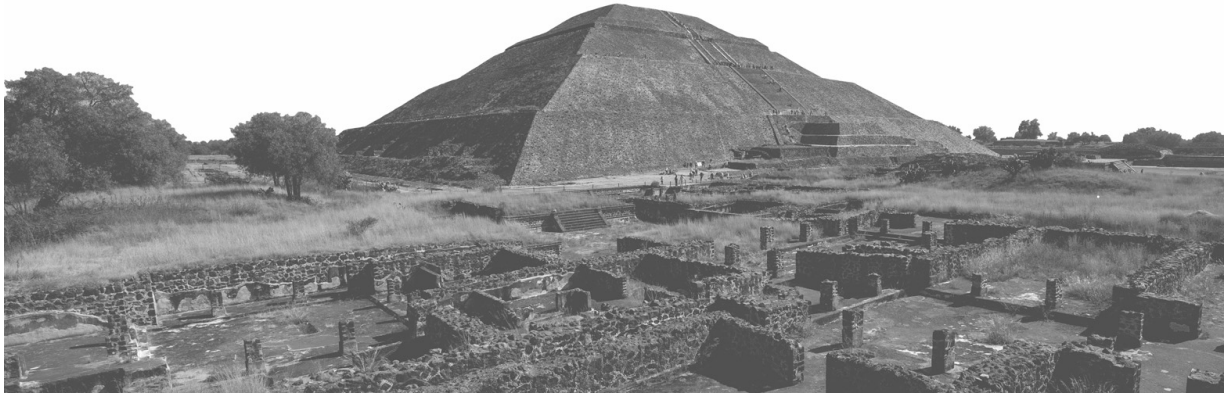
When Mexican archaeologist Laurette Séjourné first excavated one of Teotihuacán's living compounds in the 1950s, she called it a “palace in the city of the gods.”

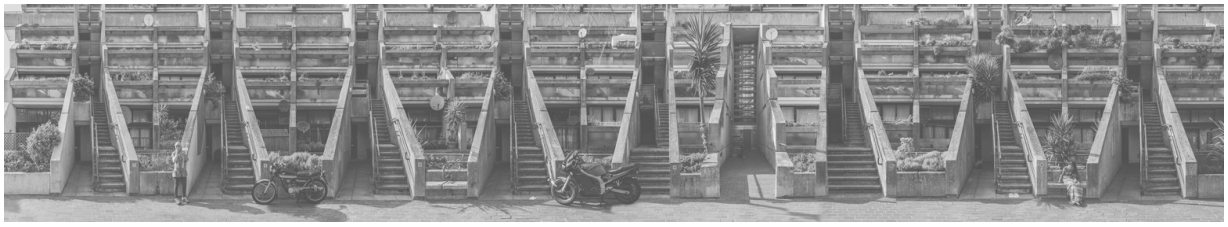
Some cities used the rooftops of private houses instead of streets as a public space, and it was there that passersby met and discussed business. In many cases, people gathered outside the city to organize festivals, carnivals, and rituals, or to build public monuments. Often these projects were quite ambitious, but, importantly, they were occasional or seasonal; daily life was not organized around them.

This building—known as Zacuala—had large, spacious rooms with walls covered in colorful murals. Each living area had one or more patios open to the sky, with drains in the floors to let rainwater out of the compound. Family members were buried in graves under the house floors, often with rich and elaborate offerings.

Compared to most Aztec sites, Teotihuacán seems very strange, and not just because of its huge size (100,000 people, living in an area of close to 20 square kilometers). For one, it's the only pre-modern Mexican city planned entirely according to a grid layout. Secondly, its residents lived in apartment-like multifamily compounds with white lime-plaster floors, ornamented roofs, and porches which were remarkably spacious and luxurious for the ancient world. These complexes were key to the conclusion of many researchers that the city's residents lived far more

economically equal lives than in any other known Mesoamerican society.





Nika Dubrovsky:

The Alexandria Estate, also called Rowley Way, was built by British architect Neave Brown in 1978 as public housing with 520 apartments. It includes a school, a park, playgrounds, its own heating system and a wide variety of public spaces, the most important of which being the famous red brick road that runs through the Estate, free of cars. Kids can play along the road and benches are set up so that people can sit and talk to each other. Along the way, there are small gardens and squares where neighbors can stop to discuss matters

of shared interest. The windows of the apartments, each one with a terrace, face one another and overlook the red brick road, creating a space of collective safety.

Rowley Way offers a different way of living with others than, for instance, the city of Solitude. It may seem to some that the manner in which the windows of Rowley Way face each other and the way in which residents are encouraged to interact is similar to the Panopticon in the Transparent City, but there is one difference. Household privacy in Rowley Way is preserved by an intentional feature of its apartments; only the front faces the common road, while the back windows are entirely concealed from public view.

The complex was named the worst architectural structure in Britain by Margaret Thatcher, while simultaneously being the first postwar council housing estate to be designated an architectural treasure by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.

After the death of my partner, and co-author of this book, I moved out of our mews house on Portobello Road and settled in Rowley Way. My neighbors–a family with five children, who immigrated from from Lebanon–and I take care of the shared flower garden in the space thoughtfully created by the architect be tween the apartments for the residents' joint projects. Houses for the poor are imagined by many to be places of crime and despair. In the United States, a number of those buildings have literally been blown up, eliminated as though they were a social disease, and the inhabitants resettled elsewhere. But Rowley Way remains a working example of an urban utopia, where 75% of the residents are non-owners, including many migrants from different parts of the world.

If you were the architect of a big estate, where would you live with your family? Would you allocate most of the square footage for residents' apartments, or would you distribute more space for public use, such as communal libraries, playgrounds, or maybe even a swimming pool?

Rowley Way could have resembled a Roman military camp, with its modernist austerity and sparingly rational concrete structure, which is not called brutalist for nothing. Instead, it looks more like a flea market, a fairground, or an installation in

a contemporary art museum. This is because the architect believed residents could use the Estate's vast public areas in their own way.

The public spaces and private terraces, decorated by residents, are vibrant and distinctive. Some people planted expensive olive trees; some have decorated their terrace with cheap plastic flowers; some have tomatoes; and some have luxurious palm trees. Every time I walk down the red brick road, I am captivated by each of the terraces, each of which is completely unique.

Perhaps it is the combination of strict rules governing internal structure and an abundance of public space that are responsible for the uniqueness of this estate.

People who have lived here for many years still love their home.

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tile 30

Afterword

In the afterword to this book, I want to talk about a project that grew out of it.

Imagine your dream estate with 500 families living in it. Would it look like a grand palace, a quaint European village, a futuristic Martian outpost, or maybe a federated pirate settlement?

The visuals used in this book are not just illustrations, but an attempt to share with readers a wider, wilder vision of how we might live together. The truly meaningful books are the ones that bring us together with other people. After all, if books don't change our lives, what are they good for?

It is my hope that images, rightly used, have the potential to be more democratic than texts, because images communicate faster and further than language. They are a better way for many people to take part in public debate: For shy people who hate public speaking, for migrants who speak English as a second language, and especially for children whose agency is often ignored.

Images have one more peculiarity in contrast to texts. They make a stronger and more immediate impact on the mind, leaving us no time to think for ourselves and exercise judgment. That's why advertisements work. Yet, when images are produced together, shaped by continuous discussion, the situation changes completely. We get the opportunity to slow down and organize them through a collective meaning-making process.

I then added some quirky pictures, like pandas, and it worked well! Pandas ended up being the most popular stencil in our City of Care.

Participants wrote the city rules inside the place that was marked by a stencil depicting a speech bubble.

For the Visual Assembly, I selected a set of easily recognizable icons to depict urban life: cafes, cars, stadiums, pedestrians, and houses.

Usually, when people get together, it is to do something fun. David recounted that in Madagascar, where he lived for two years while writing his doctoral dissertation, people would gather for meetings to solve common problems, as well as to sing and tell stories. It was, above all, an enjoyable social gathering, far different from the meetings we usually hold in the West, full of voting and bureaucracy.

How often do you meet as a group with your neighbors, classmates,

family, or friends to work something out together?

With this in mind we came up with the idea of turning the book into something even more collaborative: a public drawing exercise that would provide us with new means of reimagining the way we live together. We decided to call this a Visual Assembly.

Since we held our Visual Assembly during Covid, it took some creativity to invent a way to be together without breaking the law. We decided to get out into the streets, sick of being stuck indoors, and above all to start something awesome.

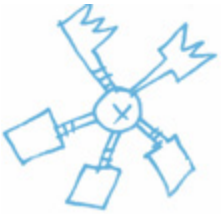
We got help from artists and activists from Extinction Rebellion, one of the largest social movements of that year.

The Assembly met on Zoom, while David and I, along with our neighbor on Portobello Road, Olga Balla, served as self-appointed artists. Our job was to use chalk and spray paint to draw visuals on the deserted market square, according to the decisions made by the Assembly. It was fascinating to make art without coming up with anything on our own, following the instructions of others instead. Could it be that we discovered “socialist realism” in its proper form?

Imagine how isolated a person would feel

holding an Assembly alone and deciding what is going to happen in their country, city, or house for everyone else.

As we worked on mapping the City of Care, chalk, spray paint, and stencils were scattered around the square, available for anyone to pick up and use as they chose. Passersby began to join us. One was a well-known local character, followed by a pair of lovers, a street musician, a young guy cycling by—the number of participants was growing by the minute. Even with no announcements, it became quite aconsiderable gathering!



Can you think of any other ideas to facilitate group thought and expression, besides drawing and writing together?

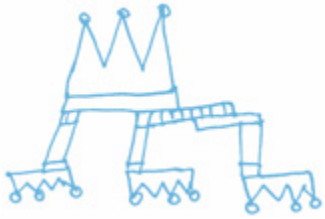
This project started as a collection of social situations—utopias and dystopias, endlessly varied across different countries and times. Some of them seem intimidating and disastrous: “Why in the world would anyone want to live this way?” Others are breathtaking—“What a cool idea!” or “What a great place to live!”

But most importantly, we wanted to explore alternate versions of our own social life, imagining how things could change if we realized different possibilities.

Visual Assembly came about as a form of brainstorming about the most unusual and quirky social schemes, as an easy format to come up with ideas that are rare in our day-to-day lives.

It feels like it's much more fun to think things up together. We just need to figure out cool ways to do it.

But there are probably other ways of being and thinking together. Maybe while reading these lines you are even inventing your own?



David Graeber

David wrote about this when we reflected on the results of the Assembly:

“The idea was to show people the approach is fun and to give people an experience of opening up imagination—in a way it's like popcorn, the consensus brainstorming tool, where no one can be criticized for any idea no matter what it is, then you record it all, then try to see what you can do with it. Step 2 would be seeing what we can do with it—to turn the exercise into a practical one; i.e., so you start off with pure imagination, and then, say, okay, Homerton. Let's reimagine Homerton. Or Newcastle. So ideally you turn the imagination you've just unleashed onto something that has immediate effects on lives.”

Because if another world is possible, it is up to us to work it out with each other.

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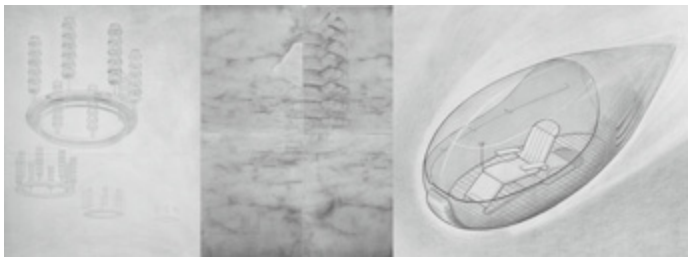
Study Materials

№1



Krutikov T.G. Diploma project “City of the future (evolution of architectural principles in city planning and housing organization)” / Federal State Budget Organisation of Culture (FSBOC) “State Scientific Research Museum of Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev”

№2

Green matrix background computer generated / Smit / Shutterstock

№3

From a French edition of Gulliver / Vve Magnin et Cie (Paris) / Bibliothèque nationale de France

№4

Roman headquarters, Aquis Querquennis, Os Baños, Bande, Galicia (Spain) / Álvaro Pérez Vilariño / Wikimedia Commons (CC-BY-SA-2.0)

Christiania alternative community at Copenhagen in Denmark / Stefano Ember / Shutterstock

Christiania, house on the lake / Natan Cph / Shutterstock

Freetown Christiania, a community in the Danish capital Copenhagen / Annchronick / Alamy Stock Photo

Pink & red tulips in rubber boots / debr22pics / Shutterstock

№5

A large white building with a clock on top of it. Street art at Christiania, Copenhagen / Annie Spratt / Unsplash

Christiania district entrance sign / RAW-filmws / Shutterstock

Group of musicians, band, buskers, playing music at shop street in city center / Karlo Curis / Shutterstock

Freetown Christiania, self-proclaimed autonomous neighbourhood, an intentional community / Ruzanna / Shutterstock

Mother with two children riding bicycles in historical part in Amsterdam / Bumble Dee / Shutterstock

Christiania / Annie Spratt / Unsplash

Streets of Copenhagen / Maria Eklind / Flickr.com (CC BY-SA 2.0)

№6

Bird's-eye view from park Gulliver, Valencia / ElPadrone / Pond5

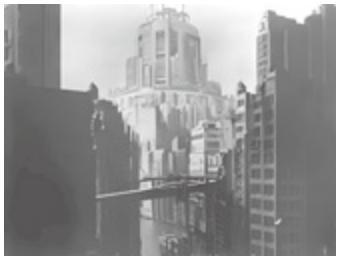
Korean student, Jong Sook Kim, visiting the Mad Hatter and Alice at Disneyland, 1964-01-05 / UCLA Library Special Collections / Flickr.com (CC BY 2.0)

An aerial view of the Shanghai Disney Resort in Pudong, Shanghai, China / Imaginechina Limited / Alamy Stock Photo

Playground in a Mill Village / Lewis Wickes Hine / Art Institute, Chicago (CC0 Public Domain Designation)

City Museum St. Louis: MonstroCity / City Museum (promotional purposes)

№7



A screenshot from the film Metropolis (1927) / Friedrich- Wilhelm-Murnau-Foundation / Wikipedia

№8

Family having fun outdoor with dog and basketball ball / Alexei_tm / Shutterstock

A man on a bike / Tower Electric Bikes / Unsplash

Woman holding kid at the street / Sai De Silva / Unsplash

A girl with a kite / Ivan Botha / Unsplash

A pair shot from back / Janosch Lino / Unsplash

Family camping trip tent outdoor / Simply Love / Shutterstock

Aerial view of suburban housing sprawl in the Santa Clarita community of Los Angeles County, California / Trekandshoot / Shutterstock

Man in black tank top and yellow shorts playing basketball during daytimer / Mira Kireeva / Unsplash

Man in white dress shirt and blue denim jeans holding orange and black kick scooter / Serhat Beyazkaya / Unsplash

№9

The Colly Soleri Amphitheater, viewed from straight above, drone shot / Rob Jameson / Cosanti Foundation

124b bronze bell / Jeremy Shevling / Cosanti Foundation

689.1510lvb6017. Cafe level, west bay / Laura Villa Baroncelli / Cosanti Foundation

№10

People walking on street during daytime / Brijender Dua / Unsplash

Crowd of people during daytime / Azaz Merchant / Unsplash

People walking on street during daytime / Egor Myznik / Unsplas

A group of people standing outside / Hernan Gonzalez / Unsplash

People standing beside concrete cathedral / Les Anderson / Unsplashh

The Line - project rendering / Neom (promotional purposes)

№11

Иофан Б.Ф.; Архитектор: Гельфрейх В.Г.; Архитектор: Щуко В.А.; Скульптор: Меркуров С.Д. Технический проект. Дворец Советов. Москва. Макет. Из альбома “Технический проект Дворца Советов в Москве”. Съемка: 1937-1939 гг

№12

Draussen-kameras-uberwachung / Jürgen Jester

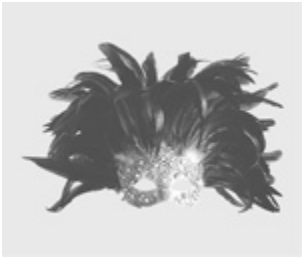
Modern security camera on high column / Ave Calvar Martinez / Pexels

Modern drone flying over nature among trees / Callum Hilton / Pexels

Small white drone with camera in flight / Callum Hilton / Pexels

Black and White CCTV Cameras / Thomas Windisch / Pexels

№14



A golden feathered Venetian mask isolated on a white background / E. Spek / Shutterstock

Hand-crafted and decorated face mask on an isolated white background / Ilizia / Shutterstock

Upper view image of a colorful long nose Venetian mask against a white background / Radu Razvan / Shutterstock

Venice mask / SarunasVysniauskas / Shutterstock

Colorful traditional Venetian mask isolated on white background / Aron M / Alamy Stock Photo

№15

Chevy Chase, Memoirs of an invisible man, 1992 / AJ Pics / Alamy Stock Phot

№16

Armchair (part of a set of nine) / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Box / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Harlequin. Manufactory Nymphenburg Porcelain Manufactory / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Drop-front desk (secrétaire à abattant or secrétaire en cabinet) / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Plate / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Casket / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Knife, fork, and spoon. Elkington & Co. / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Side-saddle used by Constance / National Museum Australia

Rolltop desk / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Vase / Tucker Factory / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Casket, late 15th or early 16th century / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Parasol / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Donna Martina. Manufactory Nymphenburg Porcelain Manufactory / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Corset, Manufacturer La Sirene French, mid1880s / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Coffee and tea service (déjeuner chinois réticulé). Manufactory Sèvres Manufactory / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Shoes, American, 1899 / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Side Chair. Herter Brothers / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Gold-inlaid Colt Model 1851 Navy Revolver (serial no. 20133), with Case and Accessories / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Shoes, Retailer Jeffers French Shoes, 1866 / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Candlestand (one of a pair) / The Metropolitan Museum of Art

№17

Winter_Palace_Panorama_2 / Florstein (WikiPhotoSpace) / Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 4.0)

A Salvador Dali, the painter, model at the Amsterdam Madame Tussauds wax museum / Olena Znak

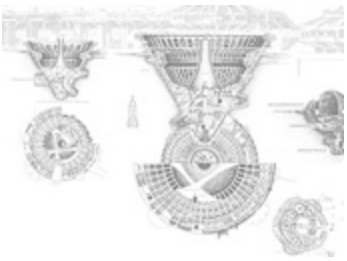
№18

Machu Picchu / eddie-kiszka-rFESpq5MMTg-unsplash / Eddie Kiszka / Unsplash

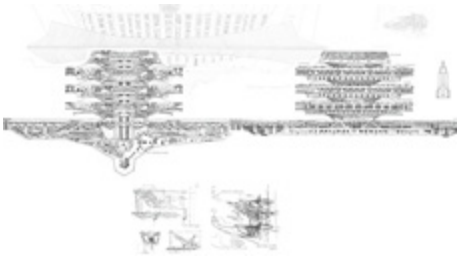
№19

Panorama of the New York City skyline in Manhattan / rabbit75_ist / iStock

№20

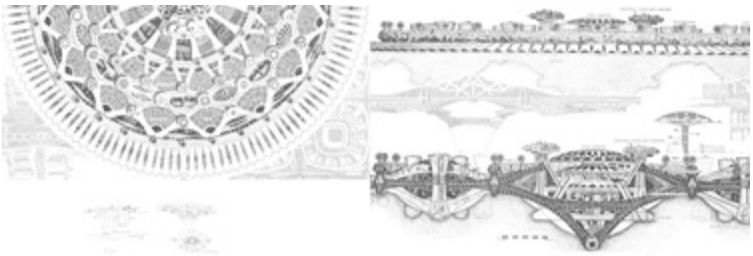


NOVANOAH II Arcology, Population 2,400,000. Page 39 in “Arcology: City in the Image of Man,” by Paolo Soleri, original publication 1970 by MIT Press



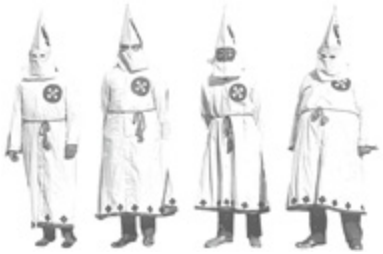
BABEL II B Arcology, Population 520,000. A hyper structure over 1 kilometer high and 2 kilometers in diameter at the bowl base. From the book “Arcology: City in the Image of Man,” by Paolo Soleri, original publication by MIT Press in 1970

№21



NOVANOAH I, a floating Arcology designed for a population of 400.000. Page 37 from “City in the Image of Man” / Cosanti Foundation

№22



Ku Klux Klansmen / Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, reproduction number, e.g., [LC-F82-1234]

The former Louisiana execution chamber / Lee Honeycutt / Wikimedia Commons CC BY-SA 2.0

№23

Dirty buildings and garbage on roofs in Cairo / Baloncici / Shuttestock

№24

Aerial view of the enclosed ecosystem of Biosphere 2 at Oracle in Tucson, AZ / Joseph Sohm / Shutterstock

The full length of senior Asian man standing on the pink background / Kimberrywood / Shutterstock

Black seal lion on seashore / Sand Crain / Unsplash

Brown deer on brown land near trees / Jp Valery / Unsplash

White birds flying over body of water during daytime / Birger Strahl / Unsplash

Woman sitting on sidewalk / Trevin Rudy / Unsplash

Yellow and gray iguana standing on brown wooden panel / Matthew Essman / Unsplash

Man walking on dock / Ahmed Badawy / Unsplash

Two persons talking while standing near wall / Cristina Gottardi / Unsplash

Coyote walking in desert during daytime / Oscar Sutton / Unsplash

Brown tiger walking on brown sand during daytime / Hans-Jurgen Mager / Unsplash

Grey hamster / Joachim Riegel / Unsplash

Woman standing in middle of forest / Philip Martin / Unsplash

№25

Berlin Wall / Unbekannt (Bundesrepublik Deutschland) / Wikimedia Common

№26

Aleppo, Syria. View of the city from height of bird's flight / Dima Moroz / Shutterstock

№27

City of the Sun / University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

№28

Dr W G Grace (Wiliam Gilbert Grace) Gloucestershire, London County and England / Tom Viggars / Alamy Stock Photo

Full-length side portrait of college student walking with bag and mobile phone / Mimagephotography / Shutterstock

Children playing at Penton Junior School, Islington, North London, 11th March 1971. Face of Britain 1971 Feature / Trinity Mirror / Mirrorpix / Alamy Stock Photo

Image of young Asian college girl at school / TimeImage Production / Shutterstock

Young monks on their way to Angkor Wat, Siem Reap, Cambodia, Southeast Asia / incamerastock / Alamy Stock Photo

Hungary's record-breaking trio of Laszlo Tabori, Istvan Rózsavölgyi, and Sandor Iharos loosen up on grass. November 25, 1955. (Photo by Magyar Foto) / SuperStock / Alamy

Girl university student wearing headphones using smartphone app sitting on stairs outdoors online learning, remote studying virtual class, watching webinar distance course or listening podcast / insta_photos / Shutterstock

Oxford, aerial panorama / Chensiyuan / Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 4.0)

№29

Pyramid of the Sun and Plaza of the Pyramid in Teotihuacán in city of San Juan Teotihuacán, State of Mexico, Mexico. Teotihuacan is a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1987 / Wangkun Jia / Shutterstock

Alexandra Road estate / Ken OHYAMA / flickr (CC BY-SA 2.0)

№30

Illustrations (video screenshot) / Nika Dubrovsky

№1
Flying Cities

1. Georgy Krutikov (1899–1958) was a Soviet constructivist architect famous for his drafts of utopian cities.

2. Velimir Khlebnikov (1985–1922) was a Russian poet and playwright who played a significant role in the Futurist and Russian avant-garde movements of the early twentieth century.

3. Velimir Khlebnikov. “My i doma,” *Tvoreniya* (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel’, 1986)

4. Tomás Saraceno is a contemporary artist who explores environmental issues in scientific and artistic forms. He is best known for his installations and sculptures, including Cloud Cities, a large-scale interactive project resembling airborne cities shown in exhibitions around the world.

№2
The City that Always Sleeps

1. Lana Wachowski and Lilly Wachowski are American film directors known for their work in The Matrix franchise, a dystopian science fiction film about a future where humanity is trapped in a simulated reality controlled by intelligent machines.

2. In The Matrix franchise, Morpheus guides and mentors the protagonist, Neo.

№3
City in the Clouds

1. Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) was an Irish writer best known for *Gulliver's Travel*s, a satire published in 1726 that follows the adventures of Lemuel Gulliver as he voyages to various fantastical lands, encountering strange societies and reflecting on the flaws of humanity.

2. Balnibarbi is a fictional land in *Gulliver's Travels*.

3. Laputa is a fictional place in *Gulliver”s Travels*.

4. Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (New York: Harper, 1950).

№5
City of Freedom

1. Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1975) was a Danish author and poet who is best known for his fairy tales, such as “The Little Mermaid,” “The Ugly Duckling,” and “The Emperor's New Clothes.”

2. Christiania, also known as Freetown Christiania, is a self-governed, semi-autonomous neighborhood in Copenhagen, Denmark, established in 1971, where residents live in a community that emphasizes communal ownership and artistic expression.

№6

The City of Play

1. Lilliputians are a race of tiny people who inhabit the island of Lilliput in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.

2. Walt Disney (1901–1966) was an American entrepreneur, animator, and film producer who founded the Walt Disney Company, known for iconic cartoon characters such as Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck.

3. Walt Disney World Resort is a vast entertainment complex situated in Orlando, Florida, featuring multiple theme and water parks, hotels, dining options, and shopping venues centered around Disney characters and stories.

4. Disney's *Sleeping Beauty* is a classic animated film about a cursed princess who can only be awakened by a true love's kiss.

5. A. S. Neill (1883–1973) was a Scottish educator. He founded Summerhill School, which let students make choices about their learning and participate in the school's decision-making.

6. Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) was an influential German poet, playwright, and philosopher known for works that explored the transformative power of art and beauty in society.

7. Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

8. A. S. Neill, Summerhill: *A Radical Approach to Child Rearing* (New York: Hart Publishing, 1960).

9. #NovaraFM, David Graeber, Bullshit Jobs, Direct Democracy and the End of Capitalism, 1st February 2019.

№7
City of Greed

1. Alexander Belyaev (1884–1942) was a Soviet science fiction writer. His 1928 novel *The Air Merchant* tells the story of meteorologist Georgiy Klimenko and his allies as they battle a villain plotting to steal Earth's air supply.

2. Peter Brabeck-Letmathe is an Austrian businessman and former CEO of Nestlé, the multinational food and beverage company famous for brands such as KitKat, Nescafé, Maggi, and others.

3. *We Feed the World* is a 2005 documentary that sheds light on the global food industry and its damaging impact on the environment, society, and food production practices.

№8
City as a Family

1. “Roman law” refers to the legal system and principles developed in ancient Rome that formed the basis for many modern legal principles around the world.

2. The Age of Enlightenment was an intellectual movement in the eighteenth century characterized by a focus on reason, science, and individual liberty, challenging traditional authority, and promoting ideals of progress and human rights.

3. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was an influential eighteenth-century philosopher and writer who emphasized individual freedom, the social contract, and the concept of humans being naturally good but corrupted by society.

4. The word “domestic” comes from the word *domus*, which overlaps somewhat in meaning with *familia*, as in “family.” But, as proponents of “family values” might be interested to know, *familia* itself ultimately derives from the word *famulus*, meaning “slave.” As for *dominium*, the word is derived from *dominus*, meaning “master” or “slave-owner,” but ultimately from *domus*, meaning “house” or “household. It's related, of course, to the English term “domestic,” which even now can be used either to mean “pertaining to private life,” or to refer to a servant who cleans the house.See David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2012).

5. The rapid growth of homeownership and the rise of suburban communities helped drive the postwar economic boom. Suburban neighborhoods of single-family homes tore their way through the outskirts of cities. William Levitt built the first Levittown, the archetypal suburban community, in 1946 on Long Island, New York. Purchasing mass acreage, “subdividing” lots, and contracting crews to build countless homes at economies of scale, Levitt offered affordable suburban housing to veterans and their families. Levitt became the prophet of the new suburbs, heralding a massive internal migration. The country's suburban share of the population rose from 19.5% in 1940 to 30.7% by 1960. Homeownership rates rose from 44% in 1940 to almost 62% in 1960. Between 1940 and 1950, suburban communities of greater than 10,000 people grew 22.1%, and planned communities grew at an astonishing rate of 126.1%. As historian Lizabeth Cohen notes, these new suburbs “mushroomed in territorial size and the populations they harbored.” Between 1950 and 1970, America's suburban population nearly doubled to 74 million, with 83 percent of all population growth occurring in suburban places. Lumen Learning, The Rise of Suburbs, US History (American Yawp). Available online: https://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-ushistory2ay/chapter/therise-of-suburbs-2/.

6. Raymond Westbrook goes through the three known cases of this really happening. It would seem that the father's authority here was considered identical to that of the state. If a father was found to have executed his child illegitimately, he could be punished.

№9
City in the Desert

1. Paolo Soleri (1919–2013) was an Italian architect and urban thinker who believed in designing cities that are both sustainable and efficient, combining architecture with ecology.

2. One of Soleri's notable projects is Arcosanti, an experimental town in Arizona that serves as a living example of his vision for a compact, environmentally conscious urban community.

№10
Sanctuary City

1. Abram Ioffe (1880–1960) was a famous Soviet physicist who studied how electricity flows through solid materials and played a significant role in promoting science education in the Soviet Union.

№11
Big Brother City

1. The phrase “Big Brother” first appeared in George Orwell's novel *1984*. It has become a byword for any large organization that spies on its members.

№12
Surveillance City

1. Edward Snowden is a former U.S. intelligence employee who leaked secret documents in 2013 on the internet, revealing widespread government surveillance programs conducted by the U.S. government.

2. David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2015).

3. Alan Rusbridger, Ewen MacAskill, and Janine Gibson, “Edward Snowden: a right to privacy is the same as freedom of speech – video interview,” theguardian.com.

№13
Transparent City

1. *We* is a dystopian novel by Russian writer Yevgeny Zamyatin (1984–1937), written 1920–21. It was first published as an English translation by Gregory Zilboorg in 1924 by E. P. Dutton in New York, with the original Russian text first published in 1952.

2. George Orwell (1903–1950) was a novelist, journalist, essayist, and critic, best known for his novels *Animal Farm* (1945) and *1984* (1949).

3. Aldous Huxley (1984–1963) was a writer and philosopher, best known for his dystopian novel *Brave New World* (1932).

4. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) was an English philosopher who is best known for his 1651 work *Leviathan,* which argues for the necessity of a strong central government to maintain social order and prevent chaos. Hobbes uses the term “Leviathan” as a metaphor for a state that controls the individuals within a society and thus ensures peace, stability, and order.

5. Yevgeny Zamyatin, *We,* translated by Gregory Zilboorg (New York: Dutton, 1924).

№14
City of Masks

1. The Venice Carnival is an annual festival held in Venice, Italy, known for its elaborate masks, costumes, parades, and festivities.

№15
Invisible City

1. H. G. Wells (1866–1946) was a British writer known for his science fiction novels, including *The Invisible Man* (1897), a story of a scientist who invented a method of achieving invisibility.

2. H. G. Wells, *The Invisible Man: A Grotesque Romance* (TK:TK).

3. Adam Harvey is a Berlin-based artist and applied researcher focused on computer vision, privacy, and surveillance.

4. The Open Source movement is in favor of creating software where the code is freely shared and can be modified and distributed by anyone.

5. Adrian Bauer is an English engineer and mathematician, the originator of the RepRap Project, a self-replicating 3D printer.

№16
Solitude City

1. Victorian England is the period of British history during the reign of Queen Victoria from 1837 to 1901, characterized by social, cultural, and industrial advancements as well as strict societal norms and values.

2. The British Museum is a public museum in London, established in 1753 and known for its extensive collection of over eight million works representing human history, culture, and art from all continents.

№17
One-Man City

1. The Hermitage Museum, located in Saint Petersburg, Russia, is one of the world's largest museums, founded in 1764 and housing over three million artworks and artifacts from diverse cultures and historical periods.

2. Sam Chermayeff is an architect, designer, and teacher.

3. The town was sold for less than a million dollars, and Buford's new overseer takes control of ZIP code 82052. It encompasses 10 acres of land and five buildings, including a three bedroom modular house he will now call home, a schoolhouse from

1905, a parking area, and a convenience and fuel store called the Buford Trading Post. The income-producing unincorporated community also touts a Union Wireless cell tower with a lease in place and United States Post Office Boxes used by residents from nearby properties. The tiny town welcomes an estimated 1,000 visitors per day during the summer tourism season.

№18
Ghost Town

1. Machu Picchu is an ancient citadel situated in the mountains of Peru, built in the fifteenth century and later abandoned, renowned for its architecture.

2. Spanish conquistadors were Spanish soldiers and explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who conquered new territories in Latin America and expanded the Spanish Empire.

3. The Inca Empire was a civilization in South America, spanning from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, known for its advanced agricultural systems, impressive stonework, centralized governance, and extensive road networks connecting its vast territories.

№19
A City of Runners

1. David Graeber, “Culture as Creative Refusal,” *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology,* vol. 31, no. 2 (2013), pp. 1–19.

№20
Underground City

1. Esteban Suarez is a Mexican architect who founded Bunker Arquitectura, an international multidisciplinary team formed of architects, urban planners, and designers.

2. Nikolai Lyutomsky is a Russian architect.

№21
City in the Ocean

1. Peter Thiel is an American entrepreneur, one of the co-founders of the online payment platform PayPal.

2. The Gulag was a system of forced labor camps established in the Soviet Union from the 1930s to the 1950s, where millions of people were imprisoned and subjected to harsh conditions, and often led to death.

3. David Graeber, *Pirate Enlightenment or the Real Libertalia* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2023).

4. David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004), p. 65

5. David Graeber (1961–2020) was an American anthropologist, activist, and author known for his influential works on capitalism, bureaucracy, and debt.

№22
City of Punishment

1. The Ku Klux Klan is a white supremacist organization founded in the United States in 1865, known for its violence and racial hatred toward African Americans and other minority groups.

2. The Confederacy refers to the group of eleven Southern states that seceded from the U.S. in 1860–61 with the goal of preserving slavery and forming a separate nation, leading to the American Civil War.

3. David Graeber, *The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2015), p. 44.

№23
Trash City

1. Cairo is the capital and largest city of Egypt.

№24
Noah's Ark

1. Biosphere 2 is a scientific facility in Arizona that simulates different environments like rainforests, deserts, and oceans to study how they function.

№25
Model City

1. Herbert von Karajan (1908–1989) was an Austrian conductor known as the principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic.

№27
Sun City

1. Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) was an Italian philosopher and writer best known for his utopian vision of society in *The City of the Sun*.

№29
City of Care

1. Alejandro Aravena is a Chilean architect known for his socially conscious building projects that attempt to break down economic inequality in urban areas.

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13. Raymond Westbrook, *“Slave and Master in Ancient Near Eastern Law,” in Law from the Tigris to the Tiber,* edited by Bruce Wells and Rachel Magdalene (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2009), p. 207

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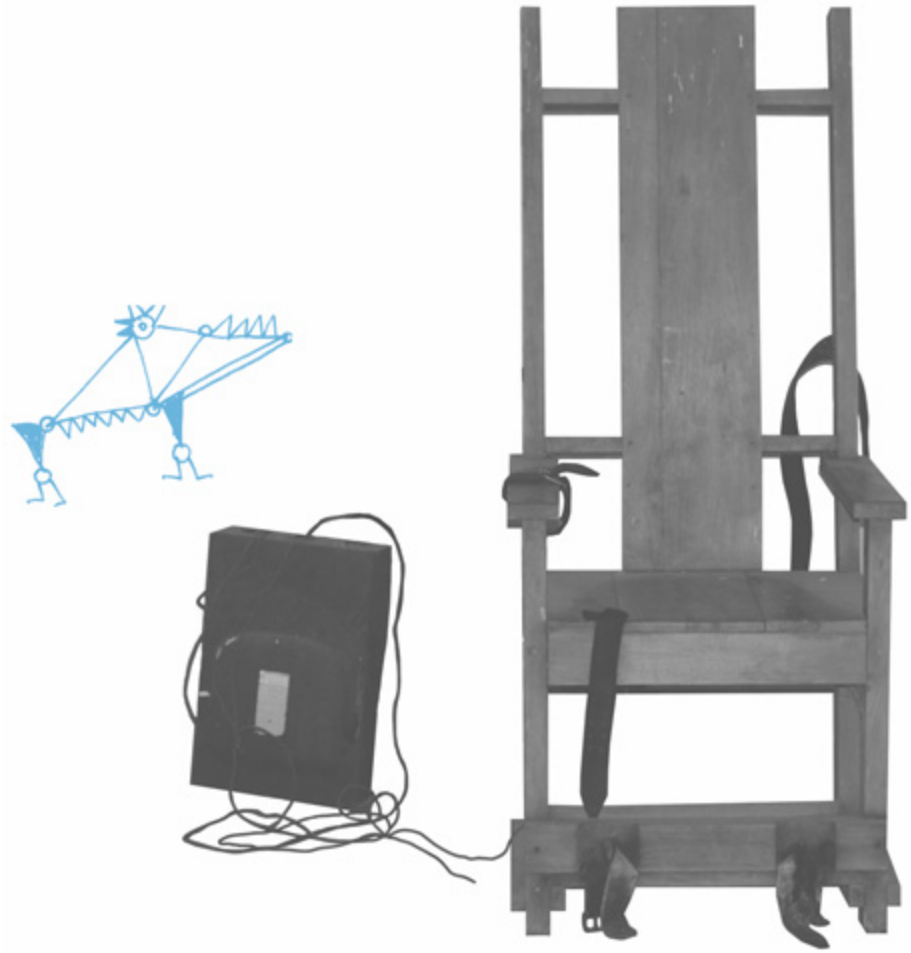

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glossary

I put together a brief glossary from the collection of David's quotes to explain our understanding of some of the terms in this book.

These terms only exist because every day we wake up and continue to reproduce them.

1

Anthropology

is the study of human beings, both the points of diversity and unity in how people have lived around the globe and throughout the times.

David said, “I'm interested in anthropology because I'm interested in human possibilities.”

“Social theory is largely a game of make-believe in which we pretend, just for the sake of argument, that there's just one thing going on: essentially, we reduce everything to a cartoon so as to be able to detect patterns that would be otherwise invisible.” (Graeber and Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity,* p. 21)

2

Games and Utopias

Games … are a kind of utopia of rules.

“True, one can play a game; but to speak of ‘play’ does not necessarily imply the existence of rules at all. Play can be purely improvisational. One could simply be playing around.” (Ibid., p. 191)

“Genuine, living utopianism—the idea that radical alternatives are possible and that one can begin to create them in the present—as opposed to what might be called ‘scientific utopianism’: the idea that

the revolutionary is the agent of the inevitable march of history, which was so easily, and catastrophically, appropriated by the Right. The murder of dreams could only lead to nightmares." (Graeber, *Direct Action,* p. x)

Back in the 1880s, Peter Kropotkin responded to claims that anarchism was utopian by arguing that matters were really the other way around. What was naïve and utopian was to believe that one could give anyone arbitrary power over others and trust them to exercise it responsibly." (Graeber, *Direct Action,* pp. 352-3)

3

Communism and Capitalism

"Communism is the foundation of all human sociability. It makes society possible." (On the moral grounds of economic relations)

Communism is not an abstract, distant ideal, impossible to maintain, but a lived practical reality we all engage in daily, to different degrees, and that even factories could not operate without it— even if much of it operates on the sly, between the cracks, or shifts, or informally, or in what's not said, or entirely subversively.

It's become fashionable lately to say that capitalism has entered a new phase in which it has become parasitical forms of creative cooperation, largely on the internet. This is nonsense. It has always been so.

Capitalism is not something imposed on us by some outside force. It only exists because every day we wake up and continue to produce it.

"Communism is already here. The question is how to further democratize it. Capitalism, in turn, is just one possible way of managing communism — and, it has become increasingly clear, rather a disastrous one. Clearly we need to be thinking about a better one: preferably, one that does not quite so systematically set us all at each others' throats." (Graeber, *Revolutions in Reverse: Essays on Politics, Violence, Art, and Imagination,* p. 36)

4

War and Carnival

What's the difference?

In war, the rules of the game are that everyone is equal to his uniform. That's why it's fine to kill anyone in “blue” if they're fighting against “the green.” Although everyone knows that the people under the uniform are all different: smart and stupid, young and old. As opposed to the rules of Carnival: we all know that masks and people are not the same.

5

Politics and Magic

Politics is very similar to magic.

“It is the peculiar feature of political life that within it, behavior that could only otherwise be considered insane is perfectly effective. If you managed to convince everyone on earth that you can breathe underwater, it won't make any difference: if you try it, you will still drown. On the other hand, if you could convince everyone in the entire world that you were King of France, then you would actually be the King of France…

This is the essence of politics. Politics is that dimension of social life in which things really do become true if enough people believe them. The problem is that in order to play the game effectively, one can never acknowledge its essence. No king would openly admit he is king just because people think he is… ‘Make me your leader because if you do, I will be your leader’ is not in itself a particularly compelling argument.

In this sense politics is very similar to magic, which in most times and places… is simultaneously recognized as something that works because people believe that it works; but also, that only works because people do not believe it works only because people believe it works. This is why magic, from ancient Thessaly to the contemporary Trobriand Islands, always seems to dwell in an

uncertain territory somewhere between poetic expression and outright fraud. And of course the same can usually be said of politics." (Graeber, *Revolutions in Reverse: Essays on Politics, Violence, Art, and Imagination,* p. 94)

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